

THE
AMERICAN
PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW.

EDITORS:

HENRY B. SMITH: J. M. SHERWOOD.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

ALBERT BARNES, Philadelphia.

ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK, Union Theological Seminary, N. Y.

JONATHAN B. CONDIT, Auburn Theological Seminary, N. Y.

OCTOBER, 1869.

NEW YORK:

J. M. SHERWOOD, 65-4 BROADWAY.

(At the Book Store of Messrs. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co.)

PHILADELPHIA:

PRESBYTERIAN BOOK STORE, 1334 CHESTNUT STREET.

BOSTON: NEW ENGLAND NEWS CO.

AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY General Agents.

TERMS:—\$3.50 in advance: otherwise \$4. Single numbers \$1.

The American Presbyterian Review.

THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW contains more matter than any other Theological Review published in this country. Its corps of contributors embraces many of our ablest and most distinguished review writers, representing the various branches of the Christian Church. While it is conducted in the interest of Presbyterians, it is the organ of no sect or school, and seeks, as its chief end, to advance the cause of Christian Learning.

TERMS:—\$3.50 in advance; otherwise \$4: or, \$6 for two years in advance. Single numbers \$1. All Missionaries, Theological Students, and Young Men's Christian Associations, \$3. For \$6 the REVIEW and HOURS AT HOME; or for 3 new subscriptions to HOURS AT HOME, with \$9, the REVIEW will be sent for one year.

Our subscribers will bear in mind that the REVIEW was ENLARGED the current year and the price advanced 50 cents. Bills are sent in the present number to those who are in arrears, and prompt attention is respectfully requested. Some are in arrears for several years: will they not respond to this call? We are entitled to \$4 where payment is not made in advance, but any one promptly sending \$7 will receive credit for 1869 and '70.

Covers.—Neat and substantial Covers for 1869, in Black Morocco Cloth, will be sent postpaid for fifty cents.

1870.

The next number of this REVIEW will be issued on the 1st January. Each number will contain 200 pages. Besides the usual number of original articles found in other Reviews, we shall reproduce many of the most valuable papers found in the English and Continental Reviews. Every new subscriber for 1870, sending \$3.50 (the advance price) will be entitled to the numbers for '69 (the first vol. of the new series) containing over 800 pages, and about 50 articles on a great variety of topics by some of the ablest writers of this country and of Europe, for \$2.50, i. e., '69 and '70 for \$6.

All MSS. and letters relating to the REVIEW address to

J. M. SHERWOOD,
(Care C. SCRIBNER & Co.,) 654 Broadway, New York.

WEBSTER'S UNABRIDGED DICTIONARY

3000 Engravings. 1840 pp. Quarto. Trade Price \$12.

10,000 WORDS AND MEANINGS NOT IN OTHER DICTIONARIES.

"The etymological part surpasses anything that has been done for the English Language by any earlier laborers in the same field."—*Hon. George Bancroft, the Historian.*

"A work which none who can read and write can henceforward afford to dispense with."—*Atlantic Monthly*, Nov., 1864.

"No other living language has a Dictionary which so fully and faithfully sets forth its present condition as this last edition of Webster does that of our written and spoken English tongue."—*Harper's Magazine*, Jan., 1865.

"Etymological part remarkably well done. . . . We have had no English Dictionary nearly so good in this respect."—*North American Review*, Jan. 1865.

"In our opinion, it is the best Dictionary that either England or America can boast."—*National Quarterly Review*, October, 1864.

"No English scholar can dispense with this work."—*Bibliotheca Sacra*, Jan., 1865.

Published by G. & C. MERRIAM, Springfield, Mass. Sold by all Booksellers.

Also, just published, WEBSTER'S NATIONAL PICTORIAL DICTIONARY.

1040 pp. Octave. 600 Engravings. Trade Price \$6.

AMERICAN SCHOOL INSTITUTE, FOUNDED 1855.

Is a reliable and practical Educational Bureau. To aid those who want well qualified Teachers.
To represent Teachers who seek positions. To give parents information of good Schools.

To sell, rent, and exchange School Properties.

FOURTEEN YEARS have proved it efficient in securing "THE RIGHT TEACHER FOR THE RIGHT PLACE."

J. W. SCHERMERHORN, A. M., ACTUARY,
14 Bond Street, New York.

OUR ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE OF
SCHOOL MATERIAL, FOR 1869 AND 1870,
REPRESENTS
APPARATUS, BOOKS, CHARTS, GLOBES, MAPS, SCHOOL FURNITURE
OF SEVERAL SUPERIOR MODERN STYLES, AND MANY OTHER
"ARTICLES FOR EVERY SCHOOL."

Mailed on demand with Stamp.

J. W. SCHERMERHORN & CO., Publishers and Manufacturers,
NEW YORK.

il
e
e
o
of

L.
=

any
At-
ent
lar-
arly
onal

BT.

E,

a."

ork

O,

URE

uron



THE
AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN
REVIEW.

THIRD SERIES. No. IV.—OCTOBER, 1869.

ART. I.—BIBLE WORDS FOR SALVATION.

By Prof. TAYLER LEWIS, Union College.

IN the examination of such a subject, the most suggestive passage with which to commence is Acts ii, 47: *Ὁ δὲ κύριος προσετίθει τοὺς ΣΩΖΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ καὶ ἡμέραν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*; rendered, "And God added daily to the Church of such as *should be saved*." This gives the idea of a future or prospective salvation, viewed as decreed or determined, and so it has been doctrinally regarded. Thus, Matthew Henry says: "Those whom God has designed for eternal salvation, shall, one time or other, be effectually brought to Christ." The doctrine is true, but it is not taught in this place. To say nothing now of any considerations arising out of the etymological and proper meaning of the verb *σώζω*, such a rendering, and such an interpretation, are irreconcilable with the present imperfect, or continuous, participle, which can never be rendered *salvandi*, or *salvi fierent*, as the Vulgate and Calvin have it. It can mean nothing else than "*those who are being saved*," if we may use a form of speech which has been condemned, but which is among the necessities of our language. The Greek participle denotes a process, or present action, now going on, or a present state now having continuance.

Bloomfield would render it *those who were saved*, which he very erroneously says is supported by the Syriac Version (see his note on the passage, which is chiefly valuable from the copious list of authorities he gives). He refers to *σωθῆτε*, v. 40, as somehow proving the use of the past time, but it is not easy to see the force of the argument. We may render it in past time if the context required it, for the participle in *όμενος* belongs as much to the imperfect as to the present, being in this respect like our participle in *ing*; but it still would be the past time continuous, *tempus imperfectum*, some thing not finished. It would, in that case, still be "those who *were being saved*"—that is, in that state or process which is called salvation. And here is the difficulty which suggests that there may be something radically wrong in the very common conception of the primary meaning of the word. According to this common notion, salvation is a single act of deliverance, perfect, complete, having no process, flow or continuance; so that *οἱ σωζόμενοι*, rendered according to the demands of its grammatical form, would, in that case, give an impossible idea. It would require to be either future or perfect, *σωθησόμενοι* or *σεσωσμένοι*. This sense of continuance in *σωζόμενοι* appears, too, from the places in which it is put in contrast with *ἀπολλύμενοι*—*the being saved*—*the perishing*. Others would render it "those who are put in a state where salvation is possible,"—or a salvable state—"where, by the grace imparted under the Gospel, they might be *actually saved*." The use of the word *actually* shows the contingent sense which such interpreters would give to *σωζόμενοι*, as a mere prospective or potential salvation. Adam Clark refers it to those who *are saved from their sins*, thus giving it the perfect time, denoting a present, complete salvation; but this is as much at war with the grammatical form and true nature of the word, as the possible, or the prospective, or the decreed sense of those whom he opposes.

If grammatical forms have any significance, this word *οἱ σωζόμενοι*, means those who are in a certain condition, or process, which is not completed, but is begun and going on from step to step. If the radical idea is healing, as we shall

attempt to show, it means those *who are being healed*, or, to use a similar term, *οἱ ἰατρευόμενοι*, those who are under the physician's care, who have begun to recover, have passed the critical point of convalescence, who have ceased to grow worse, in whom the healing grace, the healing *δύναμις* which goes forth from Jesus (see Mark v, 30, Luke vi, 19), has begun to operate,—who are getting well, and constantly increasing in health and strength. They are the *σωζόμενοι*, not the *saved* regarded as complete, nor the *salvable* regarded as possible or prospective, but the *being saved*, the *being healed*, the convalescent—the *living*.

This last is the idea brought out in that most valuable of all the ancient Versions, the Peschito Syriac, and which at once impresses us with its truth, as clearing up every critical difficulty, and throwing a flood of light on this and similar passages. It is thus rendered in this most venerable translation: "And the Lord added, every day, to the Church, *וְהָיָה רְפוּאָתָא דְּחַיִּים*, of those that were *living* or *alive*,"—that is, healthy, healing members, in distinction from those who were *deadly* sick, and getting worse, the perishing, *οἱ ἀπολλύμενοι*. The former are the living, the alive, though it may be far from perfect vitality; because life is but the carrying out of the idea in the one direction, as the death of the soul is the termination, the completion, in the other.

Salvation is health (*salus*), it is life, it is soul-health,—it is a spiritual state. The other idea of salvation as a rescue, a deliverance, in the more outward or objective sense, is more common in the Old Testament, though even there there are cases, some of them clear in our English translation, and others that ought to have been made so, where the Hebrew *ישע*, *ישעה*, and *ישעתה* have what may be called the subjective idea; we mean primarily; since nearly all cases where these words occur, especially in the Psalms and the Prophets, may have that sense secondarily to those who believe, as they are taught by the great Apostle to believe, that the temporal deliverances of the Old Scriptures are ever typical of the higher salvation. Thus Ps. lxxvii, 2: "That thy way may be known in the earth," *ישעתך בכל גוים*, well rendered, "*thy*

saving health, among all nations"—Vulgate *salutare tuum*, Jerome *salus tua*, LXX τὸ σωτήριόν σου—God's healing, sanctifying, *saving* power. So, also, Ps. xlii, 11 and xliii, 5, רַחֲמֵי בְנִי, rendered "the health of my countenance," *salutare vultus mei*. The synonymous word, נָצַח, can have no other meaning, Ps. cxxxii, 16, where it is rendered in the Anglican Version, "I will clothe her priests with salvation," in the Psalter Version, more properly, "I will deck her priests with *health*," Vulgate and Jerome, *induum salutari*. Had it been said of kings or warriors, it might have had the more outward sense; but the spiritual here shines through the language; her priests shall be healing ministers, robed in "saving health." So must it also be taken, Ps. cxlix, 4, rendered "He will beautify the meek with salvation," בִּישָׁעָה, which Jerome renders, to the letter, *in Jesu*,—true in the spirit, since it is, in Hebrew, the very name of Him who is so called Math. i, 21, "because he shall save (σώσει, נָצַח), heal his people from their sins." Compare also Gen. xlix, 18, "I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord," and the precisely similar passage, Ps. cxix, 166, "Lord, I have hoped for thy salvation; Psalter Version, "thy *saving health*," Vulgate and Jerome, *salutare tuum*. The same renderings are given, v. 174, below, where the context fixes it to mean an inward, spiritual state, beyond a doubt: "I have longed for thy salvation (thy *saving health*), and in thy law is my delight; O, let my soul live," etc. The Rationalist may take the lower or more outward sense, in all such places, if he chooses; he may assign plausible exegetical reasons for so doing; but there is nothing to prevent the spiritually minded from resting in that more blessed position which the ever expanding senses of Holy Scripture allow him to assume, especially in places where the spiritual sense is so bright and clear as to throw the temporal wholly into the shade. Similarly suggestive are Ps. cxvi, 13, "the cup of salvation," xl, 19, "who love thy salvation," li, 14, "O God, thou God of my salvation," Psalter Version, "O God of my health," *Deus salutis mee*. Compare it with the prayers immediately above—"purge me—wash me—turn thy face from my sins—make me a clean heart

—restore unto me the joy of *thy salvation*—take not thy Holy Spirit from me—deliver me from blood, O God, thou God of my salvation.” It was soul soundness, soul health, he prayed for, in the double sense of justification and sanctification, deliverance from *guilt* and from *sin*—a clean conscience and a clean heart. A reference might be made, also, to such passages as Isaiah xlv, 8, “Let the heavens and the skies drop down *righteousness*, let the earth open and salvation grow out of it;” Isaiah lxi, 20, “My soul shall rejoice in my God, for he hath clothed me with the garments of *salvation*, he hath put around me a robe of righteousness;” Isaiah xii, 3, “With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of *salvation*.” In all such passages, the ideas of life, of light, of spiritual joy, spiritual soundness, and spiritual safety, are so clear and overpowering, that only rationalistic blindness and obduracy could seek to keep this glowing language down to the mere primary or typical ideas of temporal deliverances from earthly oppressions and captivities.

In the New Testament this subjective sense becomes so prominent that it is difficult for even the worst translation wholly to obscure it. *Σωτηρία*, in the great majority of cases, is *salus*, *health*, healing, bodily or spiritual. And first let us advert to the cases in which the verb is used in reference to

DISEASES OF THE BODY.

These can not be mistaken. Thus Math. ix, 21: “If I may only touch his garment, *σωθήσομαι*, I shall be healed,” *saved*, restored to health; v. 22, “and Jesus turned and said unto her, thy faith, *σέσωκε σε*, hath saved thee; and the woman was made whole, or sound (was saved) from that hour.” Here faith to be healed from bodily diseases is treated as the same faith which seeks deliverance from spiritual maladies; for it rests essentially on the divine healing power (*δύναμις* or *virtue*) of Jesus in both cases. Mark vi, 56, “and as many as touched him were made whole,” were saved; or rather, since it is *εσώζοντο*, imperfect time, “began to be healed.” Mark x, 52, “Jesus saith to the blind man, thy faith, *σέσωκε σε*, hath saved thee;” Luke vii, 50; viii, 48,

50; xvii, 19; Acts iv, 9, ἐν τίνι οὗτος σέσωσται, "by what means he is (or has been) made whole" (saved); xiv, 9; "Seeing that he has faith to be healed, τῷ σωθῆναι. See especially, the noted passage, James v, 15: "And the prayer of faith, σώσει, shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up." So the noun σωτηρία, Acts xxvii, 34: "I beseech you to take food, for this belongs to your health," though it may refer there to the final deliverance from shipwreck. But in general σωτηρία is

SOUL-HEALTH, SPIRITUAL SOUNDNESS.

To cite examples would be to quote almost every verse in which it occurs. The other cases, where it is taken outwardly, in the sense of *deliverance*, or *rescue* from outward evil, are clearly determined by the context; as in Luke i, 71, "Salvation (σωτηρίαν) from our enemies," where it seems to be used in the Old Testament sense of נַחֲמָה, but may be very easily understood of spiritual foes within as well as without,—that whole prophetic song of Zacharias, though purely evangelical, being in the Old Testament style, like that of Hannah which it so much resembles. In almost all its applications, however, whether taken in the letter or in the spirit, σωτηρία has the other or inward idea. It corresponds to the Latin *salus* rather than to *salvatio* which is a late Latin word used to express the outward, and sometimes ritual, idea of salvation, which afterwards became prominent. So also *Salvator*; neither of them belong to the classical Latin, which, for this outward idea of saving, used *servo*, *servator*.

The classical usage of the Greek σωτηρία for spiritual soundness can be abundantly shown. It is a special feature of the Platonic style, running through all uses of the root σώω, σάω, σώζω, and its compounds and derivatives, σώος, σωτηρία, σώφρων (σαο-φρων), σωφροσύνη, sound mindness, etc.

THE PESCHITO SYRIAC VERSION.

Almost everywhere in the New Testament this most ancient Version renders this whole class of words, the verb, the noun, the participle, the adjective, the agent, by the idea of life. Thus Σωτήρ, Saviour, Healer, is rendered in the

Syriac by the word ܡܚܝܝܐ (*Mahyono*, as it is pronounced in the Western Aramaic) *Life-giver*, Healer; as in John iv, 42; "For we have heard and known that this is Christ the Life-giver;" Acts v, 31: "This hath God raised up to be a Prince and a Life-giver;" Phil. iii, 20 (a very striking example as appears in the context): "For our citizenship (πολίτευμα, our churchly life as used for the civic relation, or political life, in classic Greek) is in the heavens, whence we expect our Life-giver (ܡܚܝܝܐ), the Lord Jesus Christ, who will transform our lowly body into the form of his glorious body, according to the working (ἐνέργειαν) by which he is able to put all things under Him,"—that life-giving power, operating in the body as well as in the soul, and according to which he is called in 1 Cor. xv, 45, πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν, a "life-giving spirit," with reference to Gen. ii, 7. In some places in the Syriac, σωτήρ is rendered by ܡܪܝܥ, deliverer or rescuer, as in the announcement of the angel to the shepherds, Luke ii, 11; but this is in the style of the Old Testament Prophets, denoting the general and finished salvation as a rescue from death under the figure of a mighty foe. In general it is the other term, the *Life-giver*, the Healer, He who *saves*, that is, makes spiritually sound the soul, and through an ineffable process, a δύναμις emanating from him, will raise even the sin-diseased and corruptible body to a higher and incorruptible bodily life. So almost everywhere in the Peschito Version, σωτηρία is rendered *life* (ܐܝܬܐ); as in Luke i, 77, "that he might give the knowledge of *life* to his people." So also Luke xix, 9: "This day is salvation come to this house;" Syriac: "This day has *life* come to this house." Acts xiii, 26: "To you is sent the word of this *life* (τῆς σωτηρίας ταύτης),—the news or preaching of this *life*;" v, 47: "for *life* unto the ends of the world." Acts xvi: "The way of *life*;" Rom. i, 16: "The power of God unto *life*;" Rom. x, 1, where εἰς σωτηρίαν is rendered ܕܚܝܐ, "that they may *live*;" Rom. xi, 11; "Salvation (σωτηρία) to the Gentiles"—Syriac, "life to the Gentiles;" xiii, 13: "For now is our *life* nearer than when we believed;" 2 Cor. i, 6: "For your consolation and *life*;" vi, 2: "The day of salvation"—the day of

life; Eph. i, 13: "The gospel of your *life*." Or to select only a few of the best known passages; 1 Thess. ii, 13: "chosen you to *life*;" Phil. ii, 12: "work out your salvation," etc; the Syriac here is quite peculiar: "work out the working of your *life*;" Heb. ii, 3: "If we neglect so great a *life*;" 1 Pet. i, 9: "even the salvation of your souls,"—Syriac, "the *life* of your souls, of which *life* the Prophets inquired diligently." In the same way it renders τὸ σωτήριον, Luke ii, 30: "For mine eyes have seen thy *life*;" Luke iii, 6: "All flesh shall see the *life* of God;" Titus. ii, 11: "The grace of God, ἡ σωτήριος, that bringeth salvation," or is *saving*; Syriac, כַּחַיָּה "that giveth *life*, or is *life-giving*;" Murdock, "*all vivifying*,"—correct, but needlessly Latinized. Schaaf, in his Latin Version to his Edition of the Peschito, shows his ill-appreciation of what is most peculiar in the old Syriac translation by rendering it *servatrix*.

It is, however, in its rendering of the verb σώζω, and its participle σωζόμενοι, that this peculiarity most prominently appears. Where the idea is clearly outward, as that of rescue or deliverance from outward evil, or danger, then the word is פָּרַק, *eripuet, liberavit*, like the Hebrew verb of the same consonants; as Math. xiv, 30, פָּרוּקִי מִי פָּרַק "Lord save me"—rescue me—Peter's drowning cry. So Math. xxvii, 49: Let us see if Elias will come and save him," rescue him [לְמַפְרָקָה]; and so in other similar passages. The salvation expressed by this word when thus used as a rendering of σώζω (or rather when the Greek word is used to represent the term which was most likely employed in the oral vernacular narration of these events) is uniformly of this outward kind, as representing an outward deliverance, either actually, or in the conception of the one who uses it. The same may be said of the similar word פָּצַי, as in Math. xxvii, 40; Mark xv, 30; Luke xxiii, 39; John xvi, 27; 2 Tim., iv, 18; 1 Thess. i, 10; where it is used for the strong Greek words ῥύσσαι, ῥύσεται, ῥύσμενον. In the Syriac version of Eph. ii, 5, we have the word פָּרַק in the latter part when we should have expected the other term; and the reason would seem to be because the more usual Syriac אֲחַיָּה "he hath made us alive," is used for the Greek

συνεζωποίησε τῷ Χριστῷ, "he hath quickened us together with Christ," and then the general deliverance is expressed by the more outward verb, (though actively instead of passively as it is in the Greek,) בְּמִיבוֹתָהּ פָּרַחַן, "by his grace has he *rescued* us. The Greek has *σσεωσμένοι*, which expresses the completed process, "by grace are ye saved," and may, therefore, with the more propriety be rendered by the word of deliverance.

With these seeming exceptions, it may be said to be the general rule, that where *σῶζω*, *σῶζόμενοι*, are used for salvation in the spiritual sense, there it is uniformly, throughout the Peschito, this verb of *life*, or its participle, just as the noun *חַיָּה*, *life*, is used for *σωτηρία*, and *מַחְיָא*, *Mahyano*, or *Life-giver* for *Σωτήρ*, Saviour. Thus in the first passage, Math. i, 21, declaring the work and the office of the Saviour: "For he shall save (*σώσει*) his people from their sins;" the Syriac: "He shall make them *live* from their sins," calling to mind those words Eph. ii, 5, "*dead in sins*," a kind of language strange in Greek, but which came suggestively into it from the thinking which was peculiar to the vernacular dialect. It is the same in Math. xix, 25: "Who then shall be *saved*" (who then shall *live*); Math. x, 22: "He that endureth unto the end shall be *saved* (shall *live*); Mark xvi, 16: "He that believeth and is baptised shall be *saved*" (Syriac *shall live*, or *is alive*); Luke vii, 50: "Thy faith hath saved thee" (*אֶחָיִתְּ* hath made thee *live*); Luke xiii, 23: "Are there few that be *saved*?" (are there few that *live*?); Acts xvi, 30: "What must I do that I may be *saved*?" (that I may *live*?); Rom. v, 10: "We shall be *saved* by his life" (Syriac, very expressively, *נִחָא בְּחַיָּהּ*, *we shall live by his life*). So Rom. x, 13: "Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall *live*;" Rom. xi, 26: "And so all Israel shall *live*;" 1 Tim. i, 15: "Jesus came into the world to *save* sinners" (Syriac: Jesus Messiah came into the world *to cause sinners to live*; Dr. Murdock: *to give life to*); 1 Tim. ii, 4: "who will have all men to be *saved*" (Syriac: that all men should *live*). This Syriac Version has a peculiar force and significance in James i, 21: τὸν ἑμψυτον λόγον τὸν δυνάμενον

ΣΩΣΑΙ τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν, rendered, "the engrafted word that is able to save your souls;" Vulgate: *insitum verbum quod potest salvare animas vestras* (Syriac: "the word that is planted in our nature, that can *make alive*, ܐܚܝܬܝܢ, our souls"). See also 1 Pet. iii, 21: "Baptism doth also now *save us*," σωζει (Syriac: "Baptism in which ye now *live*"); 1 Pet. iv, 18: "And if the righteous scarcely are *saved*" (Syriac: If the righteous scarcely *live*); 1 Pet. i, 5: "Kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation" (Syriac: unto *life*). In 2 Pet., Jude and Rev., the other and more outward words are used, such as פֶּרַק and פָּצַי for σώζω, and פִּרְקָא for σωτηρια, the reasons for which, as undoubted marks of their being translated much later than the Peschito proper, may be given in another place.

But especially does this peculiarity appear in the Peschito translation of the frequent participle σωζόμενοι, as descriptive of a class in a certain state,—the saved, the being healed, *ιατρευόμενοι*—the *living*. Thus Luke xiii, 23, (a passage cited before): "Are there few that be saved," ὀλίγοι οἱ σωζόμενοι (Syriac: "Are there few that *live*," or are *alive*?) 1 Cor. i, 18, "The preaching of the cross is to them that perish (ἀπολλύμενοι) foolishness (*insipidity*, without taste) but to us who *are saved* (according to the Common Version) it is the power of God." The Syriac is: "the word of the cross is to the perishing (or the lost) foolishness, but to us who *are alive* it is the *power* of God (δύναμις, the healing power, as the word is elsewhere used). The contrast in the Greek is between σωζόμενοις and ἀπολλύμενοις, both present continuous participles denoting state or process. The contrast in the Syriac is between ܕܝܚܝܬܝܢ, *the living*, or those who *are alive*, and ܐܚܝܬܝܢ, *percuntes*, or the lost in this sense rather than in that of the wandering. Neither does this latter term, whether as it appears in Greek or Syriac, denote *the lost* in the sense of the *forsaken*, or that which hath lost its way, like the lost sheep, Luke xv, 6; that sense is expressed by the perfect participle ἀπολωλος, which is also employed whenever the finished *perdition* of the soul is expressed by that figure. Neither can it mean mercantile loss, except in a comparison,

as where our Saviour speaks of *gaining* the world and losing the soul. Both the Syriac and the Greek words rendered *lost* mean rather the *perishing*, the lost in the sense of *percentes* rather than *perditi*, the dying, those going to ruin; and so the opposite, *σωζόμενοι* and ܡܢܐ represent the convalescent, those who are getting well,—in a word, the *living*, the *alive*, or the saved as denoting the tendency and summing up of the whole process. To the *living*, the word is the healing process; compare the passage above quoted, James i, 21, “the ingrowing word that saves, or makes alive, our souls.” This direct antithesis between *σωζόμενοι* and *απολλύμενοι*, together with the admirable propriety of the Syriac rendering, is strikingly seen in such passages as 2 Cor. ii, 15, rendered: “We are a sweet savour of Christ to God, both in those who are saved (*σωζόμενοις*) and in those who are lost (*ἀπολλύμενοις*); in the one we are the savour of death unto death, in the other, of life unto life.” These latter words, even as they stand in the Greek, show the true contrast intended in the first part, and fully justify the Syriac rendering: “For we are a savour, etc., both in those who *live* (ܡܢܐ) and in those who *perish*,—to the one the savour of death unto death, to the other the savour of life unto life.” We want the Syriac rendering here, as indispensable to the symmetrical contrast of ideas presented in the whole passage. The one is a process of convalescence coming from an implanted (*ἐμφυτον*, James i, 21) principle of *life*, the other the continually growing worse and worse of the old hereditary disease,—the one tending to pure and perfect life (*salus*), the other to the second death, to Abaddon, or the utter loss of all spiritual good.

It might be deemed an objection to such a view (as derived generally from the Syriac translation) that it does not make sufficiently strong the contrast between the two classes, or that it represents a gradual rather than a radical and widely separating difference. Both may be very sick, and the outward symptoms of the disease may be even stronger in some who are classed among the *σωζόμενοι*, than they appear to be in the other. View it, however, from another standpoint, and

no contrast could be greater. It is not simply one of *degree* but of *direction*—two totally opposite directions tending to two directly opposite states. Like the plus and minus quantities of the mathematician, they may seem not far apart, and yet they are infinitely separated. Christian, fleeing from the city of destruction (the city of the plague), and they who contentedly live in it, or Pliable, who turns back, are removed from each other by a spiritual distance as great as life and death,—a growth or rising into the one, a sinking down irrecoverably into the other,—the one class remaining under the old doom (John iii, 36), without any germ of recovery, the other having the seed of everlasting *life*.

Cases where, in Greek also, *ζωή* or *life*, is used for salvation: This appears so prominently, sometimes, that it can not be mistaken. Reference is not now had to the frequent expression *ζωή αἰωνίου*, or life as denoting the complete salvation consummated, or to be consummated, in the eternal world, but to those cases in which, according to the usual style of the Greek, we should have expected *σωτηρία*, as it is commonly employed for the present salvation, and the message of salvation, or the gospel itself. As, for example, Acts v, 20: "All the words *τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης*, of this life;" where the Syriac is just as it would have been, if the Greek had had *σωτηρία*: "all the words of this *salvation*." In such cases as this, it is evident that Greek Syriacizes, if the expression may be allowed, and that the common word for salvation, where the Apostles used their vernacular, must have been *ܐܝܬܐ* (*life*), as we so constantly find it expressed in the Peschito. When they used *σωτηρία*, therefore, in the first transfer of religious ideas from the native language (whether the Greek was of their own composition, or made by native Hellenists from their dictation) it must have been in the inward or subjective sense, as meaning the same thing, although the calling it *ζωή* in every case would have sounded somewhat strange to those churches for whom such Greek gospels and epistles were primarily intended.

Other examples in which the Syriac or Aramaic vernacular seems to have controlled the Greek expression, are Phil. ii,

16: "Holding fast the word of life," λόγον ζωῆς (the word of salvation); though the noun here might, perhaps, be regarded as used Hebraically for an adjective, making the true rendering to be the *living word*, analagous to Hebrews iv, 12, ὁ λόγος ζωῆς καὶ ἐνεργησ, "the word *living* and powerful." This however, would only corroborate the vernacular idea and expression for salvation as life, or a living process, and the agent as a true *life-power* instead of a mere moral influence; as the Psalmist prays (cxix, 25), "quicken me (עֲנֵה make me to *live*) as by thy word." Of a similar kind are the expressions Acts iii, 15, "the Prince of life"—the author or leader of life. Comp. Heb. ii, 10: ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας, "Prince of salvation;" and Heb. xii, 2, τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸν, "the leader, the beginner of faith."

Allied to this are such expressions as we find Acts ii, 28: ὁδοὺς ζωῆς, "the ways of life," (the ways of salvation); Phil. iv, 3, "the book of life;" 2 Peter i, 3: τὰ πρὸς ζωὴν, "things that belong to *life*" (to salvation); 1 Tim. iv, 8, "the promise, τῆς ζωῆς, of life" (of salvation); Rev. xxi, 6, τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς ζωῆς, "the water of life;" with which compare Isaiah xii, 3, before cited, קְנַעַן מַיִם, "wells of salvation;" LXX, πηγαὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου.

The constancy of this method whereby Σωτήρ is rendered *Life-giver*, σωτηρία *life*, and σωζόμενοι *the living*, gives a wonderful power and vividness to this old Peschito Version. It is worth learning the Syriac to feel its effect, as one comes to feel it from familiar reading, and this aside from the other valuable exegetical help it affords. It would almost seem to give us a new gospel,—not another, indeed, but under a higher and more vivid aspect. And it is the true idea, notwithstanding the Peschito may be said to be only a version. It is so, indeed, chronologically, and in the letter; but in the spirit it may be regarded as the original; since, in respect to all such ideas, the Greek words derive their power from the vernacular thinking, as it expressed itself in that Aramaic, or Hebrew, as it was called, which Paul used in his speech at Jerusalem (Acts xxi, 40), when he wished to exert the greatest influence upon his countrymen. The gospels (with

the exception, perhaps, of Mathew), the Acts, and the Epistles, had their first written form in Greek, but the thinking and feeling on which such forms were based belonged to the other language; so that it is no paradox to assert that, in a maintainable sense, the Greek originals were themselves transfers, or translations, from an unwritten speech. This peculiar mode of rendering the words for salvation is very well presented in Dr. Murdock's translation of the *Peschito*; but it may be regretted that for the Syriac *Mahyono* (σωτήρ, Saviour) he should have adopted the Latinised word *Vivifier*, instead of the clearer Anglo-Saxon *Life-giver*. Had he used the latter term constantly, it would have added much to the power as well as beauty of his excellent translation.

It may be remarked that the usual Syriac word for *life* is ܐܝܬܐ, the emphatic plural—literally *lives*. But this it has from, or, rather, has in common with, the old Hebrew form חיים. The grammatical plural number does not affect the singularity of the idea in its syntactical relations; the term being constantly thus used to express spiritual life in its highest sense; but it would be an interesting inquiry how it came that the earliest Shemitic languages had this peculiarity of a plural for the idea of life. There must have been some reason for it in the earliest thinking of that peculiarly religious portion of the human race. Had it reference to supposed grades of life, vegetable, sensitive, animal, rational, spiritual? These all are taught in the Holy Scriptures (see Gen. i, 11; ii, 7; vi, 3; Ps. civ, 20, 30); all come from one divine source, the fountain of all life or lives, the מקור חיים (*fons vitarum*, Ps. xxxvi, 10) or the צרור החיים, “the bundle of lives” (*fasciculus vitarum*), according to the interpretation the Rabbins give of that strange language, 1 Sam. xxv, 19. There may be degrees of higher and lower in these ranks of life, yet we have no reason to regard the expression as either more or less real, or more or less metaphorical, in the case of any one than in that of the others. What a mine of theology, philosophy and psychology, would be found in the full exploration of that wondrous verse of the inspired Psalmist—

כי עמך מקור חיים
באורך נראה אור

With thee is the fountain of *lives* ;
In thy light do we see light.

Taking, however, the two principal distinctions, physical and spiritual life—the life of the body and the life of the soul—it would be an interesting inquiry to examine thoroughly the Old Testament, to see whether, even there, the one is not treated as being equally real (to say the least) as the other. There is a life without which, or on the departure of which, the body dies, that is, is not extinguished or annihilated, but becomes disorganized and decomposed ; there is also a life without which the soul dies, becomes spiritually disorganized, does not cease to be, as soul, but dwells in the region and shadow of spiritual death. The language that points to this higher life, and this deeper death, is much more abundant in the Old Testament than the careless Sadducean reader would imagine. We can not dwell upon it here at any length. Without some such view, however, it is impossible to interpret satisfactorily much of the language of Ezekiel xxxiii, and of other similar passages in the Hagiographia and in the prophets. The dying of the wicked there can not mean physical death. It would be contradicted by other passages of Scripture, which, in such physical sense, do represent the wicked man as living “in his sins,”—often to the wonder of the righteous, as may be seen in Ps. lxxiii, 3, 4 ; Job xxi, 7–10. Again, without this higher idea of life, as a reality, and no mere metaphor, how are we to understand the deep soul-breathings of the 119th Psalm ? “O let my soul *live*, and it shall praise thee ; my soul cleaveth unto the dust, O quicken thou me (make me to live) ; thy word hath quickened me—given me life ;” or such passages as Isaiah lv, 3 : “Hear and your souls shall live.” Take the least impassioned and most didactic part of the Old Testament, the Book of Proverbs : how many of these become unmeaning hyperboles, without this idea of a higher yet most real life, to which the soul tends, and from which it departs only to a still deeper death. We present to the serious reader a partial list. Let him study it carefully, and candidly decide whether it can be connected with the ancient Sadducean or the modern Rationalistic idea.

Prov. v, 27: "The fear of the Lord is a fountain of life to depart from the snares of death."

xiv, 12: "There is a way which seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death."

viii, 35: "Who so findeth me (wisdom) findeth life; they that hate me love death."

xv, 24: "The way of life is above to the wise, that he may depart from School beneath."

xv, 31: "The ear that heareth the reproof of life."

xv, 4: "A wholesome tongue is a tree of life, but perverseness therein is death (שבר *fractio, corruptio, interitus*), in the spirit."

xvi, 22: "Understanding is a well spring of life;" compare our Saviour's "well of water springing up to everlasting life."

xix, 23: "The fear of the Lord tendeth to life."

xxi, 16: "The man who wandereth out of the way of understanding shall remain in the congregation of the dead."

xxi, 21: "He that followeth after righteousness and mercy, findeth life;" compare Paul, Rom. ii, 7.

xxii, 4: "By humility, and the fear of the Lord, are riches, honor, and life."

iii, 22: "So shall they be life unto thy soul."

iv, 3: "Take fast hold of instruction for she is thy life."

iv, 23: "Keep thy heart with all diligence (with all keeping), for out of it are the issues of life."

v, 5: "Her feet go down to death."

vi, 23: "For the law is light, and the reproofs of instruction are the way of life."

Other passages of the same kind might be brought from the Proverbs, and many similar ones from other parts of the Old Testament. Single examples might be objected to, but their collective force is very great; they show a spirituality in the Old Testament which Sadduceanism wholly fails to explain. The questions come up: Are they all to be taken in the sense of natural life and death? Is the one term figurative merely of temporal prosperity, and the other of temporal adversity? Is the death the penal death of human law? Is it the natural effect of sin in producing disease and consequent dissolution? Is the life the prolongation merely of days upon earth, as the reward, or rather, consequence, of obedience? Do the terms contain allusion to the eternal life beyond the grave, and to the eternal death of the legal penalty? Or, lastly, is there reference to the ideas of a spiritual life, and a spiritual death, regarded as being in the soul, even in the present world of being, and containing the seeds of an eternal devel-

opment in another existence,—the one ever-tending upward, the other downward,—the one presenting the idea of drawing nigher and unto God, “the fountain of lives,” the other of a way ever departing farther and farther from Him,—the one (whether figuratively or not) leading to Heaven above (Prov. xv, 24), the other to Hell, or Hades, or the congregation of those that remain among the dead *beneath* (Prov. xx, 16)? If there are difficulties in the way of what may be styled the more evangelical answers to these questions, there are other, and, we think, much greater difficulties, in the way of those who would give them merely a temporal and earthly aspect. We have grouped together a number of such passages, in this place, for the purpose of presenting at a glance their distinguishing feature. Is there not that, in the style and language, which must be pronounced unmeaning and extravagant, if we adopt only the lowest and most temporal interpretation? If figurative, figurative of what? What is the reality back of the figure? What is there in the soul to which these terms, as drawn from the bodily life and death, express a resemblance so near, a paralellism so perfect?—if, indeed, they are so drawn, and are not equally primary and literal when applied directly to the spirit. But the subject demands a most thorough investigation by itself, in which there would come up the thought, how exclusively almost this mode of speech is peculiar to the Scriptures as compared with any other ancient literature. There may be found, in the classical ethics, a faint adumbration of this idea; as where Aristotle makes virtue a μεσότης (Nicom. Ethic. ii, 6, 13), or mean between extremes of vice, and the virtuous soul a rightly balanced organism, or sound spiritual condition, whilst the vicious or sensual soul presents a deformed dislocated system (Lib. i, 13, 15), its motions warring one against the other, something as Paul represents the “law in the members as warring with the law of the mind,” or reason. A still higher view is found in Plato’s σωτηρία (*salus*) as used for soul-health, or εὐπραγία well-being. There is something that still more reminds of the Scriptural language, where he represents sensuality as a death, its gratification a

suicidal process, a necessary inflow ever tormentingly demanded to supply a never ceasing leakage, to keep up even the semblance of life. We see, however, the grand deficiency when he would, on the contrary, represent his virtuous man under the figure of "a cask ever remaining tranquilly full," which is nothing more than a philosophic quietism altogether falling short of the idea of spiritual vitality. It is better, indeed, than "the broken cisterns that can hold no water," but how far below the Bible conception of "*living waters*," "wells of salvation," or our Saviour's vivid picture of "the fountain leaping up to everlasting life." In one place (*Gorg.* 493, A) the philosopher strangely brings in the suggestion that our present worldly life may be, in fact, a state of death wherein we lie buried in bodies of sin; but he introduces it (like other things of which he seemed to have some spiritual intimation but could not explain) as *ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος*, an ancient mythical saying, wrapped up in Orphic or Eleusinian rites, and which had come down, as a waif on the ways of time, from that old Eastern world to which he elsewhere traces all higher wisdom. Such a writer as Lecky would represent the heathen moralists, especially the Stoic, such as Epictetus and Seneca, as equal to the Christian or the Scriptural; but the very thought shows that he had never made the Holy Writings his study, either in their older or their later forms, as he surely should have done, when he ventures to speak of their influence upon the world as something in the stream of natural historical development. This doctrine of a divine life in the human soul!—"was it from Heaven or of man?" The Bible overflows with it: "O let my soul *live*, and it shall praise thee; quicken thou my spirit; Thy grace is life, thy love is more than life; thou art the fountain of lives; in thy light do we see light; Many are saying who will show us the good, lift thou upon us the light of thy countenance, Jehovah." Where in the writings of Epictetus, or Seneca, or Antonine, do we find such an answer to the anxious inquiry after the *summum bonum*? "The Lord is my light and my salvation," my health, my life. "I am the resurrection and the life; because I live ye shall live also; For your life is hid

with Christ in God ; For I, through the law, am dead that I may live unto God ; I live, yet not I (or as the Syriac more correctly has it: Henceforth live I no more) but Christ liveth in me ; and the life I now live in the flesh, live I through faith in the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me." Wondrous words ! still more wondrous conceptions ! whence came they ? Volumes of the utilitarian Buckle, or of the transcendental Lecky, are all utterly unavailing to convince the Christian reader of the Scriptures that there is not here something new—something that came into the world from a supernal source, a veritable miracle, the evidence of which we may have before our eyes whenever we open the book,—an unearthly power, a heavenly light and glory to which no earthly philosophy ever rose, and which certainly can not be traced in the cold dying embers of those ethical systems to which the latest of the above authors refers us.

The Vulgate renderings of the words for Salvation: These furnish an interesting study as showing a departure, in some degree, from the primitive ideas as seen in the Greek, and so distinctly expressed in the Syriac. The date of the earliest Latin translations it is very difficult, if not impossible, to determine: but the present Vulgate, as flowing from them, evidently presents the more outward conception, except in the word *salus*, which would, etymologically, denote spiritual health rather than merely *rescue* or deliverance. This may have been owing, in some measure, to the very genius of the Roman people. In other respects their language shows this tendency to the outward, or active, contemplation of ideas for which the Greeks had a more inward expression. Thus, to *repent* was *agere poenitentiam*, instead of the Greek *μετανοῶ*, just as they said *agere gratias*, to *do thanks*, instead of *to be grateful*. Besides this, however, the Vulgate affords evidence of a commencing change in the thinking of the church. It had become more objective and ritual.

The translation of *σωτήρ* (*Saviour*) in the Vulgate is commonly *Salvator*, a word, as already remarked, of the later Latin, from the later verb *salvo*, which is used to express outward salvation, to *deliver*, to *preserve*, like *servo* ; as in

Matth. viii, 25, where *salva* is used for the Greek *σῶσον*; and with propriety, too, for there the sense of outward danger and outward rescue is unmistakable. It is the cry of the disciples in the storm: "Lord, save us." Here *salva nos* is equivalent to *serva nos*. In other cases, however, even where the outward salvation is meant, the expression is sometimes modified into *salvum fac*, as in Matth. xiv, 30. This, too, is the more common term where the spiritual salvation is intended—*salvum facere*. It is more inward than *salvare*, but less so than the Greek, and far less than the usual Syriac word. It would primarily mean to make safe in the sense of rescue or deliverance. Such would be its classical usage, but in the rendering of the new Bible ideas it tends to the subjective conception: to make sound, spiritually *well* or *whole*. So in the passive *salvus fieri*, to become sound, or in the equivalent active, as in Matth. xxi, 11: *Salvum faciet* populum suum a peccatis eorum: "He shall save his people from their sins; ix, 21, *salva ero*; v. 12, *fides tua salvam te fecit*; 23, *et salva facta est mulier ex illa hora*; Mark xvi, 16, *qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit salvus erit*; John v, 34, *sed hæc dico, ut vos salvi sitis*. There are cases where *salvo*, and its passive, *salvatus*, are used of spiritual deliverance, but then the language would seem controlled by an outward conception, or an outward figure, in the mind of the speaker, or of the one to whom the words are addressed; as in John iii, 17: *ut salvetur mundus*, where the world collectively is regarded as lying in perdition, the spoil and prey of the Evil One. Here, too, it is evident that the objective word *salvare* is used to make the strongest contrast with *perdere*: "not to destroy, but to save the world." So Luke xiii, 23, *Pauci sunt qui salvantur?* seems accommodated to the outward standpoint of the interrogator. In his mind the outward salvation is the main thought, though even here the Syriac has rendered it the other way: "are there few that *live*?" The same explanation may be given for Acts xv, 21: "unless ye be circumcised, non *potestis salvari*; v. 11, *credimus salvari*; in both these cases the Jewish standpoint of outward salvation is very prominent, as controlling the language of the Latin translation. In John xii, 27, 47, we have in

the Vulgate a new word *salvifico*, which is equivalent to *salvum facere*.

In the Vulgate the participle *σωζόμενοι*, is rendered by *salvi*, or *salvi facti*, sound, well, healthy, healed or made sound, if we take it Hebraically, or as a departure from the more strict classical usage. Thus it is in Acts ii, 47, the passage first quoted; 1 Cor. i, 18, *salvi* used in opposition to *percutibus*; 2 Cor. ii, 2, 15: in iis qui *salvi sunt*, et in iis qui *percutunt*. In Luke viii, 56, and in one or two other cases, where the reference is to bodily disease, the rendering is by *sanus*—*quomodo sanus factus est*.

Salvator, in the Latin Version, is the most outward of all. It is the Old Testament idea of the Saviour as Rescuer, Conqueror, Deliverer. *Salvus* and *salvum facere*, present a modification of the idea; but in the rendering of *σωτηρία*, the Vulgate is purely subjective. It almost everywhere has *salus* instead of *salvatio*, which we might have expected as corresponding to *salvator*. In following this, the old English translation of Wickliffe has uniformly health (*helthe*) for *salvation*, which makes the style seem quite quaint, and in many places, like the Syriac, gives an impression (a feeling rather than an idea) much more vivid than that of our later English Version. The Vulgate *salvum facere* (for *σώζειν*) it renders "made safe;" as Matth. i, 21, "He schal make his people saaf fro her sinnes;" xix, 25, "Who thanne may be saaf?" Rom. v, 9, "Schulen be saaf in the liif of him. It is evident that *saaf* here is intended to mean much more than that small part of the old idea which is left us in the modern English *safe*. It rather denotes a state of *soundness, spiritual health*, growing in us, and nourished in us by the life of Christ. Security, the modern English sense of safety, is a result of this, but in itself it is only a part of the wider and deeper meaning. So 1 Cor. i, 15, "For the word of the cross is foli to hem that perishen, but to hem that have ben *made saaf* it is the *vertu* of God." The word *vertu* here, and the Vulgate *virtus*, are in admirable harmony with the leading idea of healing, while our translation, *power*, corresponds rather to the other notion of an outward salvation, as rescue or deliv-

erance. It is, too, a better translation of the Greek *δύναμις*, especially as used in such a context. In its truest sense this word denotes essential inward efficacy, though dynamical rather than merely potential [*id quod valet*]. It means here active healing power, just as in Luke vi, 19, before quoted: "For virtue went out of him, and healed them all;" so Wickliffe here, 1 Cor. i, 24, "Christ, the vertu of God, and the wisdom of God." *Δύναμις* has the same meaning, in such places, as the Hebrew and Syriac *חַי*, *vigor*, *virtus* (like the Latin word from *vis*, *vires*, *vir*), inward potency, as in the phrases *חַי שֵׁן*, a man of might, a hero, or *חַי שֵׁשׁ*, a woman of virtue, in the general sense of spiritual strength and soundness. Compare also the Wickliffian version of 2 Cor. ii, 15, and especially of 2 Cor. xii, 9: *ἡ γὰρ δύναμις μου (θεοῦ) ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελειοῦται*, which is rendered: "my *vertu* is made perfytli (has its full effect) in infirmyte,—that the *vertu* of Christ may dwell in me."

So also in the Wickliffe translation we have sometimes *salvation* for the Vulgate *salus*, Greek *σωτηρία*, but the more common rendering is *health* (*helthe*). Compare John iv, 22: "For *helthe* is of the Jewis;" Acts iv, 12: "For there is *helthe* in no other,—no other name undir hevene in which it behoueveth us to be made *saaf*;" Acts xiii, 26: "The word of *helthe*" (*verbum salutis*); Acts xvi, 17: "The way of *helthe* (*viam salutis*); 2 Cor. vi, 2: "In a day of *helthe* I have helped thee—lo, now a day of *helthe*."

Etymology and primary sense of our word SAVE: As the most essential sense of the Latin *salus* is *health*, *soundness*, well-being, either in regard to body or soul, so also may it be said that this is the primary idea that runs through all the uses and derivations of the root *SAV*, in the whole Indo-Germanic family. It was doubtless originally modified by the semi-vowel, semi-consonant *l*, as it is used in Sanscrit, as a kind of half-vowel, like the sound of *l* in *calm*, or of *r* in *harm*. Thus viewed, the truest form of the root was originally *SALV*, as it remains in the Latin *salvus*, whence the noun *salus* (*salvus*), the *u* in it being the remains of the *v* or *w* sound, which, on a change of the syllabification, easily falls

into the bare u vowel. Hence we see the connection with the Greek. The original Greek verb was $\sigma\alpha\omega$, with the degamma, = SA(F)O, or SAWO. Hence, the weak consonant being dropped, $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\omega$,—strengthened form $\sigma\sigma\omega$, $\sigma\omega\omega$, and $\sigma\omega\zeta\omega$. From this the nouns and adjectives $\sigma\sigma\sigma$ (= *soros*, *sowos*), $\sigma\omega\varsigma$, $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho$, $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$. In the Anglo-Saxon we have *save*, *safe*, and, with the modifying half-vowel, *salve* (German *salbe*) which probably is old in the Saxon, and not from the Latin *salvus*, *salvo*, *salvatio*, which, as before remarked, belongs to the later Latin. Throughout the uses of the root, and of all its branches, there runs the same constant idea of health, soundness, healing, safety in its primary idea of saved, savingness, though afterwards modified by the idea of *security* as expressing the effect of the earlier conception.

There is some resemblance between this root [especially in the Greek form $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\omega$, $\sigma\omega$] and the Shemitic, as it appears in the Hebrew יָצַו , *yasa*, and the Arabic *wasaa*, but hardly enough to warrant us in regarding them etymologically as the same. The most common meaning of the Hebrew is *deliverance* in some form, generally of an outward kind; but this seems to come from a primary sense we find in the Arabic. It is the idea of *room*, *space*, *amplitude*, *copiousness*. Hence freedom from restraint, and freedom positively, with the notion of spaciousness [compare the Latin verb *spatior*], easy motion, etc. From this, by a very natural transition, the idea of *rescue*, *deliverance*, making the strongest contrast to the opposite idea of *narrowness*, *straitness* [צָרָה , *tribulatio*], compression, hard-rubbing, suffocation. So the Psalmist expresses *deliverance or salvation*, though in the use of different words; as Ps. xxxi, 9: "Thou hast set my feet in a large plain; xviii, 20: "Thou hast brought me out into a wide place." Compare Ps. cxviii, 5, Hosea iv, 16. From this there is another easy transition to the idea of spiritual freedom, and to that use of the common word יָצַו , for spiritual salvation, in the passages from the Old Testament already noted. To these may be added all those prayers of the Psalmist that so earnestly implore God's salvation, but which, as is evident from the context and the historical data, can have only a sec-

ondary reference to outward enemies ; as Ps. lxix, 2 : " Save me, O God, for the waters have come into my soul ;" Ps. cxix, 74 : " I an thine, save me, for I keep (or, so that I keep) thy statutes ;" Ps. li, 14 : " Take not thy Holy Spirit from me, but restore unto me the joy of thy salvation."

The Peschito translation of the Old Testament generally conforms to the Hebrew in its outwardness ; but in the New, as we have seen, it is predominantly spiritual, more so than the Greek, unless we can regard the Greek words as actually having the same meaning with the common Syriac renderings denoting life and health, or, in fact, Syriaisms in thought, clothed in Greek expressions accommodated to them ; so that, though the Greek is the original, in the sense of being first written, it does really occupy the place of a translation in respect to vernacular idioms, and especially these new ideas. So, doubtless, stood both the letter and the spirit of the New Testament in the apostolic times, and in the century immediately succeeding. Christ, whose vernacular was the Syriac, brought in this new way of thinking and speaking when he said : " I am the life ; I am the living bread ; whosoever liveth and believeth ; though he be dead yet shall he live ; he that believeth on the Son shall have everlasting life ; is passed from death to life ; water of life that I shall give him ; and this is life ; believing, that ye may have life ;" with other passages where the same new dialect abounds in the Saviour's discourses to the disciples, and in his preaching to the multitude. Soon, however, though the Greek words remained the same, the thoughts conveyed by them began to undergo a change. The old idea of an outward salvation, though not exactly of the Jewish form, nor of a merely temporal kind, came back into the church. Everything became less spiritual, and more and more outward, until these notions of life and health lost their force, and other notions and other terms expressive of ritual, objective, outward ideas, took their place. The old Greek text remained, but versions made from it showed the changed thinking, and the changed religious feeling. The Greek words *σωτήρ*, *σωτηρία*, *σωζόμενοι*, were capable of both senses, though the subjective was predomi-

nant. The *salus* of the Vulgate should have been enough to preserve the more spiritual idea of soul-health [as the Syriac words did for a longer time in the Eastern churches], but language takes upon itself the forms of the new influences and new conceptions that gradually come in; and so, as every thing in the Church is becoming more ritual and more outward, *σωτήρ*, *σωτηρία* and *salus* get to themselves the ideas intended by the later formed words *salvator*, *salvatio*, and come to denote almost wholly an outward deliverer and an outward deliverance. This is especially seen when a new version has to be made into a foreign language, or into an old one with accommodations to the changed ideas. Of such a floating away from earlier conceptions we have a striking example in what is called the Harkleian, and by others the Philoxenian-Syriac, Version. This translation of the Old Testament was made for the use of the Eastern churches, about the year 600, or rather, it would be more correct to say, it was completed about that time, being, in fact, as we now have it, a revision of one made about 100 years before. Its professed design was the production of a Syriac Version which should be more true to the Greek original as it existed in those times. And so it undoubtedly is, as to the letter. In fact, this is its chief critical value. It so servilely follows the Greek idioms and constructions, that while it sometimes makes very strange Syriac, especially in its attempts at a literal rendering of Greek compounds, we may almost certainly know, by means of it, the exact Greek text of the time, as it then stood in the manuscripts employed for that purpose, and which the translator, and the Episcopal patron of the work, claim to have been the best and most accurate that then existed. On this account, the Philoxenian-Syriac Version is better authority as to a Greek reading than almost any quantity of later Greek manuscripts. In the *spirit*, however, it is far inferior to the venerable Peshito, which is free in its style, though never loose, while it is most true to the original Greek in its essential thought. In this latter aspect, as we have seen, it has some claim to be regarded as the original itself, furnishing, in fact, the idioms and ideas, in many cases, for the Greek words em-

ployed in their new office of expressing those higher evangelical conceptions before unknown to the world. To the patron, however, and author of this translation, and to the churches of the time generally, the case seemed just the reverse. The seeming variances were ascribed to the incorrectness of the old Peschito, when, in fact, the revisers had themselves drifted from the primitive gospel spirituality; and this might especially be said in regard to the important ideas expressed by these words for salvation. In the course of six centuries, everything had tended to the outward, the objective, the forensic, the ritual. Instead of a spiritual faith, and the "ingrowing word," and the *δύναμις Θεοῦ* (1 Cor. i, 18), or the "healing virtue of Christ," it was the Church, and the priesthood, and baptism. These were the "powers" that saved us; and hence the more militant outward ideas of the Old Testament came up again. It was the Church against Satan,—the Church against the world, though very much as one worldly power against another. Hence, salvation became *rescue* solely. It was the Church, the priesthood, that *rescued* us from the world as an enemy, rather than from spiritual death, or indwelling sin. Such an outward idea of salvation was thought to be imperfectly expressed in the old Syriac Version, and so, for this, as well as for some other reasons, this later Syriac translation was made. It is a matter of curious interest to trace this influence in all those texts we have quoted as illustrations of the spirituality of the Peschito. Its favorite word *חַיָּה*, *life*, for *salvation*, nowhere occurs in the Philoxenian. On the contrary, the latter not only uses outward expressions, but the most outward to be found in the language. Instead of *פָּרַק* and *פָּצַי*, which are the words of the Old Testament Peschito for the ideas of rescue and deliverance, it employs the still stronger word *שָׁחַב*, which came from the Chaldean or Babylonian Aramaic, and means to *snatch* as a prey, (*eripere*), and, in the passive, to *escape*, to make one's escape; as in Daniel iii, 13, "there is no God that can snatch you from my hand." This very strong outward word, which seldom occurs in the New Testament Peschito, and then in a totally different connection, (as in Acts xxviii, 4; xxvii, 44), is employed throughout the Philoxenian as the

common word to denote the Christian salvation. It is only once used for σωθήσεται, in the Peschito, in any sense approaching this, and that is 1 Cor. iii, 15: "shall be *saved* as by fire"; and there it is alone the strength and consistency of the metaphor that justify it. In the Philoxenian, on the contrary, it is everywhere employed, not only for the most outward deliverance, as the escape from shipreck, Acts xxvii, 44, and from the venomous serpent, xxviii, 4, but also for the most inward idea of soul-healing, or spiritual deliverance. Thus, 1 Pet. iii, 21 where the contrast between it and the Peschito is very striking. "We are *rescued* by baptism," says the later Version; "*in* baptism we *live*," says the older, not *by* baptism, as an outward saving power, but *in* the obedience and faith exercised in baptism, ye begin to *live* the Christian life, and thus enter upon the Christian salvation. Even in such unmistakably subjective passages as Rom. v, 10: "We shall be saved by his *life*," which the Peschito renders we shall *live* in his *life*, the Philoxenian has this same outward word: "We shall be *rescued* by his life."

To form a comparison between the Versions, in this respect, and to enable us to judge of the causes that led to the difference, we need only cite a few of the more striking passages; in which, for the sake of the contrast, the reader will pardon us if there be some that have been already quoted for a different purpose. Thus, 1 Cor. v, 5: "That the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord;" Vulgate: ut spiritus salvus sit; Peschito: "That the spirit may *live*;" Philoxenian: "That the spirit may be *rescued* in the day of the Lord." The contrast here is the more striking from its connection with the word πνεῦμα: Luke xiii, 23: "Are there few that be saved?" Vulgate: si pauci sunt qui salvantur; Peschito: "are there few that *live*," or are alive; Philoxenian: "are there few that be *rescued*." Luke viii, 12: "That they might not believe and be saved;" Vulgate: *salvi fiant*; Peschito: "that they might not believe and *live*;" Philoxenian: "That they might not believe and be *rescued*."

Thus, also, since there is no noun from שָׁחַב, the Philoxenian uses פָּרַקָא, from the similar verb פָּרַק, to *deliver*, for

σωτηρ, Saviour, instead of the Peschito סחיא (Mah yo no), *Life-giver*, and פִּרְקָא, *rescue, deliverance*, for σωτηρία. The Peschito words rendered life and life-giver, etc., never occur in any such connection throughout this later translation, and to get rid of the mystical, and, as it was supposed, erroneous ideas conveyed by them, was probably the chief motive for which it was made. It was alleged that the Peschito had become antiquated; but it was, in fact, too young and primitive for the withered ideas that had succeeded its vivid language.

It may be remarked here, that the Peschito proper did not originally contain 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Revelations. Though there are Syriac Versions of these in our modern printed editions of the Peschito, yet it is alleged that they are of later date (perhaps a century or two), though not so late as the Philoxenian. The internal evidence that they did not belong to the old Peschito is even stronger than the traditional. Besides other varieties of style, there is an entire absence of the peculiarities of the older Version on which we have been dwelling,—this rendering of salvation by *life*, Saviour by *Life-giver*, and the saved by the *living*. If all other proofs were wanting, this is sufficient evidence of their later translation, and fully confirms the tradition in this respect.

The fragments that remain of the old Gothic Scriptures afford precious and clear evidence that their subjective ideas of *healing, health*, spiritual soundness, life, were still predominantly attached to the Greek σωτηρία, and Latin *salus*, in the Fourth Century; at least by pious souls, like the good Bishop Ulfilas, who made that early version of the Bible. In this respect the Gothic is very much like the early Syriac. All its words for salvation, saving, Saviour, are from the root *nisan, ganisan*, which means to *heal, be healed*, become healed, well or sound, like the German *genesen*, which is the same word, meaning to *grow well*, recover health. Thus *nasjands*, allied to *nisan*, for Saviour, Luke ii, 11; compare Eph. v, 23: *nasjands leikis*, "healer of the body of the church." How exactly appropriate the Syriac and Gothic renderings, appears immediately from a study of the context: "Christ, the head of the church," the source of life and healing to the whole

body. So *σωτηρία* is *ganists*, healing, *heil*. Compare Rom. x, 10; xi, 11: "Salvation to the Gentiles;" Syriac: *life to the nations*;" Gothic: *Ganists*, "healing to the nations." Compare Malachi iii, 20: "the Son of righteousness with *healing* in his wings." Many other places might be cited, but if the reader has the Gothic Version, and a vocabulary, he need only turn to the passages already quoted from the Peschito, to see how universal is this style of rendering.

The language of this Gothic Version is interesting to us from the fact of its affinity to our own Saxon tongue; and what makes its testimony the more striking is another fact, that they were an exceedingly warlike people for whom this translation was made. On this account the outward sense of *rescue*, etc., such as the Philoxenian Version has everywhere given to these words, would have been naturally quite acceptable, as being in harmony with their most cherished ideas. The modern church of Rome would not hesitate, at all, in making such an accomodation, if she were giving a Version of the Scriptures to a heathen and barbarian people. Ulfilas, it is said, did not translate for the Goths the Old Testament books of Kings and Chronicles, regarding them as having a tendency to encourage the military spirit, and, therefore, as not adapted to these semi-savage tribes. That is probably a fable. In regard however, to these precious words of salvation, nothing would have induced him thus to translate them, but the conviction that they most truly represented the Scripture in its original sense, as held by himself and the most pious souls of the age to which he belonged.

ART. II.—SIN AND SUFFERING IN THE UNIVERSE.*

By ALBERT BARNES.

To know
That which lies before us in daily life,
Is the prime wisdom: what is more is fume,
Or emptiness, or fond impertinence.

Paradise Lost, B. VIII.

INTRODUCTION.

The following Essay on "Sin and Suffering in the Universe" has been prepared as an explanation of some remarks, expressive of my own feelings on the subject, made more than twenty years ago. In a Sermon preached at the time and subsequently published, I used the following language:—

"I confess for one, that I feel them, and feel them more sensibly and powerfully the more I look at them, and the longer I live. I do not understand these facts, and I make no advances toward understanding them. I do not know that I have a ray of light on this subject which I had not when the subject first flashed across my soul. I have read, to some extent, what wise and good men have written. I have looked at their theories and explanations. I have endeavored to weigh their arguments, for my whole soul pants for light and relief on these questions. But I get neither, and in the distress and anguish of my own spirit, I confess that I see no light whatever. I see not one ray of light to disclose to me why sin came into the world, why the earth is strewn with the dying and the dead, and why men must suffer to all eternity. I have never seen a particle of light thrown on these subjects that has given a moment's ease to my tortured mind, nor have I an explanation to offer, or a thought to suggest, which would be of relief to you. I trust other men, as they profess to do, understand this better than I do, and that they have not the anguish of spirit which I have. But I confess, when I look upon a world of sinners and sufferers; upon death-beds and grave-yards; on the world of woe, filled with hosts to suffer forever; when I see my friends, my parents, my family, my people, my fellow-citizens—when I look upon a whole race all

* It is understood in conducting this Journal, that, when the name of an Author is appended to an Article, he alone is responsible for its doctrine. The Author desires that this may be understood in relation to this Article, and to the three on the same general subject, which will follow it in the succeeding numbers of this Quarterly REVIEW.

involved in this sin and danger ; and when I see the great mass of them wholly unconcerned, and when I feel that God only can save them, and yet He does not do it, I am struck dumb. It is all dark, dark to my soul, and I can not disguise it."

This passage, which has often been referred to ; which, I have reason to believe, has given pain to some of the friends of religion ; and which has been made a theme of exultation by those who are opposed to the commonly received doctrines of Christianity, especially by those who are opposed to the doctrine of the future punishment of the wicked, was made the occasion of a printed letter of 16 pages, addressed to me in the Autumn of 1867, by the Hon. Gerritt Smith, of Peterboro, New York. That letter was entirely courteous in manner and in spirit, though commenting freely on the passage quoted, and was a model in this respect of what controversial writings should be on subjects so great and difficult as those to which the extract and the letter referred. To this letter of Mr. Smith I replied in five letters, published in the *American Presbyterian* of this city. In that reply it was my aim to imitate the spirit of Mr. Smith in his letter to me, while, at the same time, I followed his example in my comments on the sentiments which he had expressed, examining with entire freedom the views which he had suggested as a substitute for the views commonly held by those who believe the Bible to be a revelation from God, and which he supposed would furnish a *relief* from the difficulties which I had expressed.

In a more recent publication, Mr. Smith has reproduced the whole of this correspondence—his letter to me and my answer—with a reply to my letters, and with a republication of two pamphlets of his own on kindred subjects, as expressing more fully his views, the whole constituting a volume of 124 8vo. pages.*

This reply is in the same spirit of courtesy, freedom and kindness which was evinced in Mr. Smith's former letter, and has left me nothing to complain of in the manner in which he has treated me and my arguments. Whatever may be thought of our views and arguments on this great subject ; whether any persons shall be confirmed in their former opinions by our reasoning, or shall be induced to change their opinions ; or whether it shall be found that any new light has been shed on the very difficult subject involved in this discussion, I trust that some good may be done by the fact that, though differing very

* The title is, "Correspondence of Gerritt Smith with Albert Barnes, 1868. For sale by American News Company, New York ; A. Winch, Philadelphia ; New England News Company, Boston ; Western News Company, Chicago ; and by J. West, Peterboro, N. Y."

widely from each other on the most vital subjects that can interest the feelings of men, and standing near as we both do to the eternal world, we have been able to show that the subject can be approached with a kind and courteous spirit; that an argument can be conducted on the subject with undiminished mutual respect; that the utmost freedom in argument may be employed, with nothing to irritate or to alienate; and that though we may regard each other as cherishing great or dangerous errors, still it may be found that there is nothing in the argument which is inconsistent with the respect due from one gentleman toward another; nothing of a personal nature that shall turn away the mind from the great inquiry, the pursuit after truth.

It has occurred to me, that, instead of replying to Mr. Smith in a personal and controversial manner, it would be better to discuss the whole subject in a general form, embodying what I have already said, and suggesting such other arguments and illustrations as would tend further to explain, as far as possible, the difficulties of the subject. The subject is of general interest, and is so momentous as to make it improper that the attention should be turned from it by any private or personal considerations. The difficulties of the subject are felt by all classes of men, and have been felt in all ages and in all lands. If any satisfactory explanation of those difficulties could be offered, it would be of as much value to one class of men as to another; if it should appear that *no* satisfactory explanation can, in the present state of our knowledge, and under the essential limitations of the human mind in regard to such inquiries, be offered, it might nevertheless be of general use to show that the difficulty does not pertain to any one system of philosophy or religion; that it is not removed or lessened by a rejection of the Bible; that nothing is gained by infidelity if the Christian system is rejected; that the Bible is in no sense responsible for the difficulty; and that Christianity suggests the only way in which man can escape from the evils in which he has been involved by the apostacy of the race. Much may be gained in regard to truth if it can be shown that the subject pertains as much to Deism, to Atheism, to Universalism, and to all systems of philosophy, as to Christianity; if it can be shown that it does not belong to Trinitarianism any more than to Unitarianism; to Calvinism any more than to Arminianism; to the doctrine of future punishment any more than to the doctrine of universal salvation; to the Bible any more than it does to the Koran, the Zendavesta, the Shasters, or the Book of Mormon; to Calvin, Luther, Wesley, Edwards, Emmons or Payson, than to Hobbes, Hume, Volney, Kant, Hegel, Comte, or Darwin. For

it has been a favorite idea with many persons that the subject pertains peculiarly to Christianity, and especially to Christianity in what are regarded as its sternest forms, particularly to Calvinism; that in some way the Bible and Christianity are *responsible* for the introduction of moral evil into the universe, and will be responsible for its continuance if it shall continue forever; that men can relieve themselves from the difficulties in the case by rejecting the Bible altogether, or by embracing the doctrine of universal salvation. According to that view Christianity is a dark and repulsive system, and all outside of the system is light. Whether this *is* so, is a question of great importance in regard to the interests of religion and the welfare of man; and it is of *so much moment* that the mind should not be turned from it by any private and personal considerations. The subject, therefore, will be treated in this Essay as an abstract inquiry with no direct allusion to Mr. Smith, or to the objections and arguments which he has urged.

It may not be improper to add that it is not with any view *to a personal vindication*, or with a design to "*set myself right before the public*"—a matter with which the public can have no interest—that I engage in this inquiry, but solely because the subject is an important and difficult one; because it is one that pertains to all classes of men; because it is a source of distress and perplexity to many serious minds; and especially because *it is made the occasion of objections to the Bible—to the Christian religion—and to the views of that religion which are commonly designated as Calvinistic.* I wish to meet the idea so generally entertained that the Bible is responsible for the introduction of evil into the world; that the subject pertains to Christianity alone; that the difficulties can be diminished or avoided by adopting views more latitudinarian and lax than those which are commonly called "*orthodox*;" or that the difficulties can be made wholly to vanish by rejecting the Bible altogether. Thus viewed, the subject has a claim on public attention, and any one may render an important service to the Bible and to Christianity, if, though he may fail of being able to explain *why* sin and suffering were allowed to come into the universe, he can show that the subject has no particular relation to the Bible, or to Christianity in general, or to any particular creed as embraced by Christians; but that it pertains to all systems of philosophy and religion alike, and that he who professes one form of faith is as much concerned in it, and is as much bound to explain it, as he who embraces another.

It can not be hoped that the difficulties in regard to the *introduction* of Sin and Suffering unto the Universe, and to the prospect that they

will be allowed to *continue* forever, will be removed, for one point is as difficult as the other, and an explanation of one *might* be a satisfactory explanation of the other. All, perhaps, that can be done, all that I shall *attempt* to do, will be (1) to show that the difficulties do not pertain in any special manner to the Bible, or to Christianity in general, or to any particular form of the Christian faith; and (2) that the difficulties are not such as to be inconsistent with entire confidence in God, as a holy, a just, a wise, a merciful, and a benevolent Being, or to the declaration in the Bible that "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all."

I.—THE FACTS IN THE CASE.

The facts on which the difficulties are founded can not be called in question; and on the existence of those facts there will be, there can be, no difference of opinion, whatever conclusions may be drawn from them favorable or unfavorable to any system of philosophy or religion.

Those facts are substantially the following:

(1.) That death has reigned in our world from the beginning, or as far back as any records or monuments conduct us. There has been no recorded period of the history of the world in which death has not existed. The geological remains, as well as the written records of history, and oral tradition, demonstrate the fact of death. Numerous races of animals have been swept off entirely, and all living things die. Innumerable multitudes of men and other animals have died, and the earth has become and is one great burying place—"a vast revolving grave." This fact no one can deny; this fact pertains equally to any and every system of philosophy or religion.

(2.) Death is attended with, and usually preceded by, great suffering. It is accompanied by, and caused by, numberless forms of disease—each form painful, and, in many cases, protracted for many years. These diseases, or forms of suffering, have, apparently, in many if not in most cases, no respect for character, rank, age or condition. Those apparently or really innocent suffer as well as those manifestly guilty, and though there are forms of disease which are generated by particular vices, and which may be regarded as the punishment of those vices, yet this is by no means a universal, even if it can be

called a general, law. Humming birds, doves, and lambs, as innocent as the lily of the valley, are visited with disease and with death, as well as great criminals among men; and little children, innocent of open and known sin, are visited with painful diseases, and die in pain, as well as hoary and hardened offenders. If they are exempt from some forms of suffering that come upon the openly guilty and abandoned, yet they are not exempt from fatal diseases in some form, for there are more by far that suffer and die in early years, than there are of those who reach mature years, and who can be shown to die as the manifest result of confirmed depravity and open crime. At the same time man is so made that death is the most dreaded of all things in the future. Instead of being so made, as he might perhaps have been, that he might anticipate it with the calmness with which he anticipates a night's sleep, he is so made that he can not but dread it as a most fearful evil.

(3.) There is a vast amount of unalleviated and unmitigated suffering in the world. There is, indeed, an arrangement for alleviating the various forms of disease which exist—an arrangement which is incorporated with nature itself, and which manifestly proceeded from the Author of nature; and this should undoubtedly be taken into the account in understanding the real nature of the arrangements pertaining to our world. It is possible, also, that many of the evils to which we are subject are those of our own creation, or which we bring upon ourselves, and this in a sense so undoubtedly true, that it would be unjust to refer them with any idea of blame to the Author of our existence. And it is undoubtedly true, also, that it is in the power of man himself to alleviate or remove, by progress in civilization, in science, in the arts, in a better civil government, and in a better understanding of what really conduces to human happiness, a large part of the evils arising from poverty, disease and disappointment. All these are to be taken into account in estimating the real condition of things under which we live. But still, making all due allowance for these things, and giving them their full consideration in forming our opinions of the arrangements under which we

live, there is a vast amount of suffering which can be neither accounted for, nor diminished, nor removed, by any of these causes; which can not be traced to any act of man, and which can not be removed by any alleviating circumstances which attend the progress made in the study of medicine, in arts, in the development of science, in better arrangements of government, or in a better understanding of the principles of political economy. The fact of death will not be affected by any of these things, nor have we reason to think that the ravages and sorrows of disease will ever be arrested in our world by any of these causes. It may, indeed, be doubted whether the progress of society, great as it has been, has done anything to diminish the real amount of suffering in the world, or whether there is not, in the aggregate, *as much* now on the earth as there has been at any one former period. It certainly has not diminished the aggregate number of death-beds in our world, and it may be even more a question whether the progress of the world has not *increased* in one direction the forms of suffering quite as much as it has *diminished* them in other directions. It would be difficult to show that there is not as much actual suffering on the earth now as there was in the days of Abraham, at the time of the founding of Rome, in the time of Nero, or in the age of Charlemagne or Alfred. What Milton has put into the mouth of Michael the Archangel, as descriptive of what the Fall *would* bring upon the world, is still as true as it was at any period of the history of our race:—

“All maladies

Of ghastly spasm, or racking torture, qualms
Of heart-sick agony, all feverous kinds,
Convulsions, epilepsies, fierce catarrhs,
Intestine stone and ulcer, colic pangs,
Demoniac phrensy, moping melancholy,
And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,
Marasmus, and wide-wasting pestilence,
Dropsies and asthmas, and joint-racking rheums.”

Paradise Lost, B. XI.

(4.) The world is full of sin and crime—sin and crime against God and against man. There is no law of God or man which is not violated. There is no form of wickedness which is not committed. There is no opinion atheistic or

blasphemous which is not held. There is no idol-god, however monstrous, deformed, horrid, or bloody, to which splendid temples are not built. There is no form of cruelty or oppression which is not practised. There is no nation in which there is no necessity of prisons for the violators of law. There is no continent or island, city, village or hamlet, where virtue is safe from temptation, or where the weak, the young, and the helpless, can be secure from oppression and wrong.

It is true that it may be said justly that there is much virtue, truth, kindness, justice and practical benevolence in the world; that there is much domestic peace and social enjoyment; that there is much done to relieve the suffering and to provide for the wants of the needy; that there is much love of truth, and much pure and large-hearted philanthropy. But these facts are not inconsistent with the statements just made, that the world is full of crime, and that all laws are in fact violated; that this is a world of sin, of pain, and sorrow, and death. The main difficulty—the point most material to be explained—is that sin and crime *do* so much abound. It would be easy to account for the universal prevalence of virtue, peace, health, prosperity, if they *were* universal, for there would be nothing in them that would seem to come in conflict with the goodness and justice of the Creator and Governor of the Universe. There would, indeed, in that case, be a difficulty in showing how it is that these things are intermingled; how such a *mixed* state of things can be consistent with the idea of a just government over the universe; but this is not the difficulty now under consideration, nor would it be the difficulty which would most perplex the mind.

(5.) All this is *apparently* closely connected with the conduct of those who have gone before us; that is, it is hereditary. It is not the result, altogether, or in the most difficult point of view, of the conduct of the *individual*; it is the result of the conduct of those who have preceded us, and for whose acts we can not regard ourselves as in any way responsible or blameable. The difficulty is greatly augmented, also, by the fact that it is not merely suffering that is hereditary, but it is crime, sin; such a propensity to evil as to make guilt and

sin morally certain in the case of every one of the race. If each one had fallen into sin voluntarily and independently of any influence beforehand that made it, if not *necessary*, at least *certain*, that he would sin, the difficulty would be much more easy of explanation, for then we could carry along the idea of perfect conscious responsibility. But the main difficulty is not there; the principal fact to be explained is not that, *for that is not the case*. We suffer and sin in connection with the conduct of those who have gone before us. We have, in a derived nature, a propensity to sin, and a liability to suffer. If the language may be allowed—and to convey the *idea* it should be allowed, for it is the language of the human heart and we can not see the difficulty without giving utterance to the language: We *do not begin life with a fair chance*. Men are born, not with an inclination or propensity to good, but to evil; not that they may certainly be happy, but that they *will* certainly be sufferers; not to live, but to die.* Instead of starting in life with the *advantage* of having an inclination to virtue, they commence their existence under the *disadvantage* of a fixed propensity to sin, and the disadvantage of having to stem or resist this if they would be virtuous. Moreover, it could be said that children seem to be treated as if they were to blame for this, or that they appear to be punished for it: that is, the same effects of sorrow, pain, disease and death, follow that which follow actual sin and crime in maturer life. It could be added, also, that, by no agency of their own, they are thrown in the midst of temptation; that they are born in a world where there are often more *manifest* and *immediate* inducements to evil than to good; that these temptations seem to be placed in their way *for the very purpose* of acting on the inborn depravity and corruption of their nature; to *induce* them to act out their native depravity, and to lead them to sin. It could be said, perhaps, that if they were allowed to begin life with a propensity to good, and not to evil, or even without any propensity to either good or evil, and if they were not placed

* Corrupt nature lying back of any action of their own, and this nature, in the formation of which they have had no agency, makes it certain that they will sin, will suffer, and will die.

where temptations to sin abound, but where all the arrangements would be favorable to virtue, it might be hoped that few, if any, of the race *would* fall into sin, would deviate from the paths of virtue.

Now, whatever may be the opinion of any class of men in regard to the extent and power of this tendency to evil in the human heart, no one can doubt that it does exist to a large extent in our world, and in precise proportion to that extent is the extent of the difficulty now under consideration. No man will undertake to say that all children are, in any proper sense, *inclined* to virtue when they are born, or that there is no depravity in youth or in more advanced life which is not properly of the nature of, or which may not be traced to, a previous *inclination* or *propensity* to evil. There is much in the conduct of men that may as properly be regarded as a development of our nature as the fruit of a tree is of the nature of a tree, or as the characteristics of the lion, the panther and the hyena are a development of the nature with which they were created.

(6) There are indications of a most painful nature that this is, in some way, to be extended into a future world, and that it may exist forever.

At this stage of the inquiry it would not be proper to assume, that it *will* exist forever, or that the punishment of the wicked will be *eternal*, for that is not the point now under consideration. All that is necessary to be affirmed now is, that there are indications that this *may* be so, or that there is a probability or a *possibility* that it may be so. No one can doubt that there are indications of this which should alarm the wicked, and which claim the attention of all thoughtful men. Things are not arranged in our world *as if* it were certain that all suffering would cease at death, or as if it were certain that all men will be happy in the future world. (a) For crime strikes in its results into the future, apparently into the *indefinite* future. Nothing in a regular course of events *checks* or *stays* the results of guilt, and in respect to time it seems to have no limit, or to have no relation to time. The longest age of man does not check it; nor

does a change of circumstances arrest it, nor does a removal from one land to another seem to do anything to head off, so to speak, the consequences of crime. On this principle there seems to be no reason why death should arrest these consequences, or why they should be checked by a removal to another world. (b) There is undoubtedly much inequality in the distribution of rewards and punishments in this world; much which, if there is no future world of retribution, it would be impossible to reconcile with any proper notions of justice. This might be explained if it should be admitted that there would be an adjustment hereafter, or an equal retribution; but it is plain that there *is* no such retribution in this world. The inequality extends to the end of life. There are many—very many—crimes that are in no proper sense punished in this world; there are many men who lead lives of prosperity, and who leave the world with no manifest expression in the divine dealings of what their crimes deserve; there are many who are innocent of open crime, whose lives are spent in sorrow, pain, and want; there are many acts of oppression and wrong which are never avenged or punished—where there is neither a vindication of the oppressed, or punishment inflicted on the oppressor. These things, and many other things like them, we can neither explain nor vindicate, unless there is to be a prolongation of the subject of responsibility and of government in a future world; unless there shall be rewards there for the oppressed and the wronged, and punishment for the oppressor and the wrong-doer. It is to be remembered, also, that we are *so made* that we can not believe that the present system is one of perfect justice; that somehow our Creator has so constituted us that we can *but* feel that the system would be unequal and wrong unless there should be an adjustment in a future state—that is, a system of rewards and punishments there. But no Being would create a universe or a world where in its ultimate results, and where the system was best understood, the inevitable conclusion would be that the Creator is partial, unjust, or severe in his administration. The fair inference from these facts must be, that, since men are so made, however obscure and incomprehensi-

ble the principles of his administration might be for a time, a period must arrive when these things will be made clear, and when it will be *seen* that his administration is just, equal, holy and good. Reflections of this nature have led men in all ages to the conviction that there will be a state of rewards and punishments beyond the grave:—that is, that *suffering* will exist in the future world as well as on earth, and, from anything that appears to unaided human reason to the contrary, that suffering *may* endure forever. The truth of this last point—the *eternity* of future suffering—it is not necessary to assume now, but all that is now adverted to is, that there is a *probability* that suffering and sin will not terminate with the present life, or will not be confined to this world. (c) It is a consideration, also, of much weight, that men are so made as to *dread* this retribution in a future world, and that the fear of this is employed to a very large extent by the Creator in governing his world, and in restraining men from sin. Whether founded in truth or not, it can not be doubted that the *belief* in future punishment—even in *eternal* punishment—has had, and still has, an extensive prevalence in the world, and that the fear of this has been, and is, employed very extensively in administering human affairs. This belief—this fear—this dread—has been undoubtedly laid in our very constitution by our Creator. It is not the result of the teachings of philosophy, or of any peculiar form of religion; it is not the effect of education; it is not the creation of priestcraft; it is not a device of governmental policy, or of human law to restrain from crime. It is found in all lands, it exists among all people, the most savage as well as the most civilized, *and* the most civilized as well as the most savage. It enters into all systems of religion, and it still exists and still influences mankind when the reality of future punishment is denied, and when, under the most plausible arguments, and the most earnest desires to live a life free from this fear, attempts are made to convince the world that the opinion is false, and that the apprehension is unfounded. If this fear *is* false, and if this apprehension *is* unfounded; if there is nothing for man to

fear in the future world, it is impossible to reconcile this with any just views of the divine character. We are so made that we *can not* believe that God would excite unfounded apprehensions in the minds of men ; that he would alarm them with unreal fears ; that he would govern the world by fancied and false alarms ; that he would restrain them by those unfounded apprehensions, as foolish parents do their children by the fears of ghosts and hobgoblins, and yet, beyond all question, these fears and apprehensions have been caused by the very nature with which men are endowed by their Creator : a Being, who, if there *is* nothing to dread in the future state, must have *designed* to deceive the world, and to make use of a stupendous falsehood to alarm men ; who *means* to govern the world by imposture, deceit and illusion. (*d*) It should be remembered, also, that it is a characteristic of crime, that it *strikes onward* in its effects indefinitely, perhaps forever. It *may* stretch into another world. If not in some way arrested it *will* reach into that world. Here crimes often strike onward for years and scores of years, even from youth to old age ; for it is not an uncommon occurrence that the consequences of early depravity reach forward to advanced life, and effect the character of the offender even when hoary age has come upon him. The crime—the sin—of youth may seem to be forgotten. A life of prosperity may follow it. The offender may escape for years the proper punishment of his offences. Yet the end may show that the sin is *not* forgotten. A long life may be necessary *to work out*, so to speak, the proper results of the offense, and far on in life—even on the verge of the grave—the youthful offender may meet the reward of early dissipation or crime. This fact would lead us to suppose that there is a watchful eye on the path of the transgressor, and that the divine plan is not so much to detect and punish the offender *at once*, as to detect him *in fact*, and that the question of *time* may be one of comparative unimportance :—that there is an indefinite future in which, at any period, it will be in accordance with the divine arrangements to arrest and punish the offender. The fact that an offender is allowed to go at large for many years is no proof that he

will be allowed ultimately to escape, for somewhere in the indefinite future justice *may* overtake him, and *will be likely* to overtake him with appropriate retribution.

(7) This arrangement *may* exist forever. No one can prove that it will not; no one can show that it would be unjust or wrong that it should thus exist: that is, that at any one period in that indefinite future which we comprehend under the word *eternity*, suffering would be any more inconsistent with justice than it has been at any previous period. The mode of reasoning, whatever it may be, which would justify it at any one period, may, for aught that appears to the contrary, justify it at any other period, for it would be in itself no more inconsistent with the divine perfectness at that period than it is now.

It is worthy of special remark, also, that sin and suffering do not, so to speak, *wear themselves out*:—that is their mere continuation or exercise does not destroy them. That they have been in existence in the world for six thousand years has not weakened them as if by age, or diminished their prevalence, nor has thus far in any way modified their nature. Men are as liable to do wrong as they ever were, and the same forms of suffering exist which have existed in past ages. There seems to be no arrangement by which sin and suffering can so exhaust themselves that they will cease to exist, or by which the system of things will so adjust itself that sin and suffering will be no longer possible. The fact that a man sins once does not in any way incapacitate him for sinning again, or make him less disposed or inclined to sin; but has in reality the contrary effect; and the fact that one suffers now does not make it impossible that he should suffer in the future, and at any period in the future, or make it improbable that he will. There are, indeed, forms of suffering that are terminated by death; but the fact that the body dies under the influence of disease furnishes no certain proof or even probability that the soul may not suffer in a future state. The death of the body in no sense makes it a necessary conclusion that the soul will be annihilated; and though suffering may seem to terminate at death, that fact does not

make it certain that it will not be renewed in a future world. For any thing that appears in a course of nature, there may be the same order of things in a future world which exists here; the same laws of administration may prevail there; the same Being who presides over this world may preside there, our suffering, therefore, may exist at any period there: that is, *it may be eternal*.

These remarks are based on the order of things which actually exist, without reference to any views that may be presented by the Bible, or by any supernatural narrative from God as to the origin of sin and suffering, and as to their continuance in a future state, for at the present point of the inquiry it would not be proper to modify the argument by any reference to a revelation, or to the questions suggested by such a revelation in reference to these facts.

Such, then, are the *facts* in the case. Thus far there would be, it is presumed, no difference of opinion among men. The facts themselves can not be denied, however they may be explained, or however they may effect our views of the divine administration, or the questions of theology. They have no necessary connection, as will be seen more fully hereafter, with any theory of religion or philosophy; it is no more incumbent on those who embrace one theory of philosophy or religion to explain them than it is on those who embrace another theory, or who have no theory; it is no more incumbent on those who profess to believe the Bible, or on those who embrace what are called the "orthodox" views of the Bible—the views of Trinitarians and Calvinists, of those who hold the doctrine of decrees, of election, or of future punishment, than on those who reject these doctrines altogether.

2.—THE DIFFICULTIES SUGGESTED BY THESE FACTS.

In all ages, and among all classes of men, great difficulties have been felt in regard to these facts, and not a little of the talent and learning of the world has been employed in the attempt to explain them, or to show how they can be reconciled with the idea that there is a wise and benevolent and

almighty Creator of all things. The friends of religion have felt the difficulty of so explaining them as to commend their religion to their fellow men. The enemies of religion have regarded these facts as proof that there can be no God, or that if there is a God he must be severe, partial, and unjust—a Being not deserving the love and confidence of the universe. These facts, in their apprehension, diffuse darkness over this world, and a deeper gloom over the world to come. Most of what Shelley has written, and all that Byron wrote in his "Cain," has been suggested by these facts, and all that is malignant and blasphemous in what they have written may be regarded as the inferences which a heart not *disposed* to love the Creator—the true God—a God of holiness—draws from the undisputed and unexplained facts in our world—a heart, perhaps, rejoicing that the facts can not be explained, and that they furnish a plausible argument in confirmation of malignant unbelief. With different feelings Milton also saw the difficulty, and without any desire to cast reflections on the Creator, and without any of the feelings which led to the composition of "Cain," or the poetry of Shelley, he has given expression to the difficulties which he felt on the subject in the words that he put into the mouth of Adam after the Fall.

As expressive of the difficulties which he felt, and as expressing with great beauty of poetic diction, and with great tenderness of feeling, what many men have felt, and do feel, and as reviving what may have passed substantially through many minds not disposed to complain of God, but which would gladly find solution of the difficulties, it can not be improper to copy the language here :

"O fleeting joys

Of Paradise, dear bought with lasting woes,
Did I request thee, Maker, from my clay
To mould me man? Did I solicit thee
From darkness to promote me, or have place
In this delicious garden? As my will
Concurred not to my being, it were but right
And equal to reduce me to my dust;
Desirous to resign and render back
All I received; unable to perform

Thy terms too hard, by which I was to hold
 The good I sought not. To the loss of that,
 Sufficent penalty, why hast thou added
 The sense of endless woes? Inexplicable
 Thy justice seems; yet, to say truth, too late
 I thus contest; then shouldst have been refus'd
 Those terms, whatever, when they were proposed.

Why delays

His hand to execute what his decree
 Fix'd on that day? Why do I overlive?
 Why am I mock'd with death and lengthen'd out
 To deathless pain? How gladly would I meet
 Mortality my sentence, and be earth
 Insensible! How gladly would I lay me down
 As in my mother's lap! Then I should rest
 And sleep secure; his dreadful voice no more
 Would thunder in my ears; no fear of worse
 To me, and to my offspring, would torment me
 With cruel expectation.

Fair patrimony

That I would leave ye, sons! O were I able
 To waste it all myself, and leave ye none!
 So, disinherited, how would you bless
 Me, now your curse! Oh, Oh, should all mankind
 For one man's fault, thus guiltless be condemned,
 If guiltless?"

Paradise Lost, Book X.

Something similar to this occurred in the case of Job: "Let the day perish wherein I was born. Let that day be darkness; let not God regard it from above, neither let the light shine upon it. Let the stars of the twilight thereof be dark; let it look for light, but have none; neither let it see the dawning of the day; because it shut not up the doors of my mother's womb, nor hid sorrow from mine eyes. Why died I not from the womb? Why did I not give up the ghost when I came out of the belly? Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life unto the bitter soul; which long for death, but it cometh not; and dig for it more than for hid treasures; which rejoice exceedingly, and are glad when they can find the grave? Why is light given to a man whose way is hid, and whom God hath hedged in? (Job iii.)

The difficulties which have been suggested by the facts which have been adverted to are such as the following:

(1) It is certain that, in the purpose to create the universe—assuming now that it was created, and was not eternal—all possible systems must have been before the mind of the Creator, and a choice must have been made between the different systems. It is too plain to admit argument that there are many other conceivable systems besides the one that has been adopted; and it is equally clear that God had the power of choice between those different systems. As there could have been no law of necessity compelling him to create at all, so there could have been none compelling him to choose one rather than another. It is *conceivable* that there might be a universe in which there would be no sin and no suffering, and the difficulty is to know why one has been chosen in which sin and suffering abound now, and in which they may continue forever.

(2) The Creator could have been under no *necessity* of bringing a universe into existence at all. It is to be presumed that the act of creation was an act of free choice. It is to be believed that God was in himself infinitely happy, and would have been if there had been no creation. Where nothing existed, there could have been no obligation to create at all. It is not conceivable that the creation of a world, or of any number of worlds, would add anything to the power or the happiness of God.

(3) There must have been a ground of choice in the different systems that are conceivable, and that ground of choice must have occurred to the divine mind. The fact that any one system has been called into existence proves that there was some reason for creating at all, and that there was some ground of preference for the system chosen, or some reason why *that* should be chosen, and not one of the others. We can not avoid the conclusion that there was some reason why the present system was chosen, and why all the others were rejected: that is, why a system involving sin and suffering should have been selected rather than one where they would have been unknown forever.

(4) The system now existing, precisely as it does exist, and will exist forever, must have been the one chosen: that

is, the one preferred to all others. It can not be supposed that a world would have been created without its being known what it *would be*, or without its being compared in the mind of the Creator with what any other world would be; and the system must have been selected with that view upon the mind.

(5) It is to be presumed as certain that, in the creation of the universe, the *best* possible system, on the whole, or all things considered, would be adopted. Indeed, we can not believe it to be otherwise, unless we suppose—what we have no right to assume—that God is a malignant being, or that he was ignorant, and that he has been disappointed in the system or plan itself. The argument in this case can not be more clearly or forcibly expressed than it is in the following extract from an Essay of the Rev. Dr. Thomas H. Skinner :

“If there be several courses of action claiming our choice, some better than others, and one best of all, goodness obliges us to prefer this last to all the others; goodness were otherwise disowned, in so far as it stands in the best above what it does in the better and the simply good—for all that is goodness which differences the good from the best. Here, in brief, is the demonstration of Optimism. Optimism is true, if goodness may not be disallowed; if the difference may not pass for nothing between good, better, and best.

“It may be that a better than either of the solicitors of choice is a negation of them all; doing nothing, letting the several causes remain ideal only, may be better than to actualize the best of them, which, in that case, were to obey the behest of Optimism. Absolute quietism, the latency of power, would then be the expression of Optimism.

Applying this to the Deity, the existence of the world is proof that Optimism did not demand the inertia or latency of creative power. The rule of the best required this power to reveal itself in an actual creation. A world was a necessity if Optimism was to be determinative. God would not have realized His own idea, or done what seemed to Him best, had he not given existence to a creation external to Himself.

And the same principle of necessity required that the creation be that which came into being—that, and not another. He could not have given existence to another without disowning goodness, for goodness, in His idea, stood in this creation above itself in any other; there was no ideal creation, different from this that seemed to Him so good. The existing world, therefore, and not another must have been created. This world was a moral necessity. And as with its creation, so likewise with its economy or government—the rule of the best could not but obtain. Among conceivable economies different from one another, as to goodness, the perfection and blessedness of the Deity required Him to take the best. The All-Perfect, whose moral essence is pure goodness, could have been content with no other.

Since, therefore, evil exists, the best world, under the best government, was one in which this was possible; and Optimism, the antitheton of evil, consists with this possibility. But the possibility of evil is not its reality; there may be a prevention of the latter, though the former may have place. And goodness self-evidently demands its prevention, if this be possible. This is true; still, the preventive agency, as much as the creative and controlling, must abide under the sway of Optimism. That only which is best may be done to prevent the appearance of evil. The possibility of preventing it, therefore, is thus conditioned. It can not be prevented without offending against goodness, if it be not preventable by the best agency that can be employed for the purpose. There is a good, a better, and a best, in conceivable agencies in this case; the idea of the best was in the mind of the Deity. He could have given reality to no other idea. Evil is not to be prevented, indeed is not preventable by a violation of the principle of Optimism. That itself were greater evil, naturally, than the evil it would prevent; it would undeify God.

The same necessity, the dominion of the best, holds as to the remedy or removal of evil. If there had been in the Divine Mind, a kind or plan of agency better than that which God has employed, it would have taken the place of this. If the direct intervention of physical power, or arbitrary volition, or aught else, had been better, this would not have been preferred; Optimism would have prevailed here, if Optimism were to be determinative. God would not have realized his own idea, or done what seemed to Him best, had He not given existence to a creation external to Himself.

And the same principle of necessity required that the creation be that which came into being—that, and not another. He could not have given existence to another without disowning goodness, for goodness, in His idea, stood in this creation above itself in any other; there was no ideal creation, different from this that seemed to Him so good. The existing world, therefore, and not another must have been created. This world was a moral necessity.

Optimism, then, the law, the prevalence of the best, is the principle of the Divine goodness in the universe. Nothing asserts its own truth with higher evidence than this proposition. To deny it, is to set goodness against itself; to deny it, when its terms are understood, would seem to imply an intention to affirm a contradiction.*

Substantially the same view was taken by Leibnitz :

"God had had before him, in the depths of eternity, an infinite number of possible worlds, and out of these selected the one which was most beneficent, upon the whole, and this, though it comprised within it certain incidental but necessary evils, not found in other possible worlds, which, however, had not the same amount of good."†

(6) It can not be supposed that God has been *disappointed* in regard to the world which he has made :—that is, that he did not understand what it would be ; that he called powers into existence which he subsequently found that he could not

control ; that the universe has not, so to speak, '*turned out as he supposed it would*;' that he has started a career of existence which he can neither regulate nor destroy ; or that the creatures which he has made, and which he has endowed with free-will, have suddenly and unexpectedly originated *from* their own freedom powers which were not *inherent* in them at their creation, and which he did not and could not foresee :—that is, that they have become themselves *independent creators*, and have originated an uncontrollable system of their own.

It can not be denied that something like this often occurs among men : that is, that they have not sagacity sufficient to foresee the consequences of their own plans and actions, and that they have not the ability to check what they themselves have originated. They may not understand the power of the forces which they employ ; they may not be acquainted with the real nature of the agents of which they make use. There may be a degree of force in steam or water which those who employ them for mechanical purposes do not understand ; there may be some undiscovered power in any agent which men can employ which may thwart their plans ; there may be combinations of powers which may produce results which they did not anticipate ; there may be under-currents of which they have no knowledge which may wreck their vessels ; there may be defects—a flaw—an undetected weakness—in the material which they use ; or there may be contradictory and hostile forces of whose existence they had no knowledge, which may baffle all their plans. A machine, therefore, may be constructed that may be uncontrollable, or that may tear itself to pieces ; a boiler may be made that will burst ; a ship may be sent out unfitted for the storm that it will encounter, and that will be lost at sea ; a campaign may be planned that may be defeated by a counter campaign more skilfully planned, or by forces more powerful than those which are sent out, or by strategies more skillful than those on which reliance was placed, and defeat may be inevitable. It is evident, however, that none of these things can happen to God.

(7) The difficulty in regard to the existence of sin and suffering in the universe consists in reconciling *facts as they exist* with the ideas of justice, goodness, and mercy, with which we have been endowed, and which have been implanted in us by Him who made us. It is to understand how an almighty, a pure, a holy, and a benevolent God—the Creator of the world—should *allow* these things to come into his system; how they should be suffered to continue from age to age; how they should be permitted to spread desolation, woe, and sorrow over our world in all its history; how they should be allowed to extend into the future world at all; how there should be either a probability, a possibility, or a certainty that they would be permitted to continue forever; how, if provision was made for the salvation of any—for recovery from this state of things—it was not earlier introduced, it has not been universal, it does not save from *all* the consequences of the apostacy now and forever. This has been, as already remarked, *the* great problem to be solved in all ages, and the attempt to solve the problem has originated or modified every system of religious belief in the world. This difficulty, in detail, embraces the following points:—

(a) How this can be reconciled with the *power*—the omnipotence—of God. It can not be supposed that his power is limited, nor could it be said that he had not *power* to prevent the introduction of sin and woe:—or if this *should* be said, it would be obvious to remark that he could have been under no necessity of exerting his power in a work of creation at all, and still further that it can not be supposed that he *would* exert his power in the creation of a world that would or might be beyond his control; that he would bring into existence tremendous forces the only result of which would be disorder, anarchy, and confusion forever.

(b) A second difficulty is to see how this can be reconciled with the *goodness* of God. If God is benevolent, and if he has almighty power, it would be supposed that he would prevent such a state of things. The main difficulty here, as we shall see more fully hereafter, is not that sin and suffering

are to continue *forever* in any part of the universe, but that they should be suffered to exist *at all*. If there is any incompatibility with the divine perfections in the existence of sin and suffering considered as *eternal*, there is the same incompatibility in their existing *at all*:—and the difficulty in the one case is not essentially more inexplicable than in the other.

What may be a proper solution of the difficulty in regard to the existence of sin and suffering at any one time, *may be* a sufficient solution at any other time, and he who can offer a satisfactory explanation of the facts as they now exist—of the reason why sin and misery have been allowed to come into the universe at all, and why they have been suffered to exist for six thousand years, and can show how this fact is to be reconciled with the benevolence of God, might, so far as we can see, advance with the same mode of reasoning, and show that such facts will not be inconsistent with the same benevolence should they be allowed to exist under the same administration at any future period—that is, forever.

(c) A third difficulty is, that of seeing how this can be reconciled with the *justice* of God. Man is so made as to believe that *justice* is an attribute of God; so made as to believe that the infliction of punishment for crime, and according to the desert of crime, is right. The human mind does not demur at the doctrine, or cavil at it, for men everywhere inflict such punishment for crime. All laws are founded on this principle—for there is no law which has not a penalty; all governments are founded and administered on this principle—for it is the design of government to administer law. There is no difficulty, therefore, in reconciling the idea of punishment—that is, the infliction of pain and suffering for crime—with the character of God. It is also assumed by the human mind that God, if he is to be revered and adored, *must be just*. We are so made that we could not love, or venerate, or adore a Being, however powerful, if he were not *just*. It is not necessary, indeed, that we should, in order to do this, be able to see or comprehend the *reason* of the divine inflictions of punishment, for it is manifest that there *may be* reasons too high for us, or

which we may not be able to understand at present, however we may be able to comprehend them hereafter :—just as in a human government there may be penalties affixed to crime the exact reason for which, either in their intensity or their duration, we may not be able now to understand, but which may be well understood by the lawgiver, and which we may be able to understand hereafter. We are not, therefore, to infer necessarily that a penalty is unjust because we can not as yet see its reason or propriety ; still, though we may not doubt that the penalty *is* just, or that, if we understood all, it would be *seen* to be just, it may be true that we can not reconcile it with *our* ideas of justice. We should not necessarily lose confidence in a government on that account, for we should feel that there may be views taken of the nature and tendency of the violation of law which we are not now competent to perceive, and that those views *may* have been at the foundation of the penalties affixed to the violation of the laws. In such cases, knowing what the law *is*, and what the penalties *are*, our duty would be plain. Since there could be no *necessity* of our violating the laws, or incurring the penalty, our duty would be simple obedience, and personally we could have no reason for any complaint in regard to the penalty.

Such, I apprehend, is the fact in regard to the divine dealings with men. It may be admitted—it must be admitted—that we are not in a condition to see how the divine dealings can be reconciled with our present ideas of justice. Beyond all question, it must be conceded that there are sufferings inflicted in this world, and that there are sufferings threatened in the world to come, the reasons for which we are unable to explain, and which we can not reconcile with our ideas of justice. No man need hesitate to admit this; no man can deny it. The sufferings brought upon an entire race by the apostacy of our first parents; the sufferings brought upon children before they are capable of moral action; the death of infants—dying in nearly all the forms of disease which we would regard as not inappropriate at the close of the life of a hoary sinner; much of the suffering endured in long lives of poverty, want, persecution and oppression ; that which is included in

famine, and that which is the fruit of war and slavery ; the fearful forms of suffering when plague and pestilence spread through a community—these, it must be admitted, we have not the capacity to vindicate or explain ; these, we are constrained to confess, we can not reconcile with our ideas of justice.

It can not be denied that these remarks are as really applicable to the existence of sin and suffering in the future world as to sin and suffering in this world ; to punishment there as to punishment here. It need not be denied that we can not see the reason for the eternal punishment of the sinner in the future world ; that no satisfactory explanation of that has ever been offered ; and that it is beyond our faculties to explain it. None, who believe that doctrine, need to hesitate about admitting that the reason for this is beyond their powers ; that it is contrary to what would be expected under the administration of a benevolent and merciful God ; that it is contrary to what we should suppose *would* occur in the universe ; that we should have expected that if a plan of salvation was devised in which the salvation of any number was made certain, and was placed beyond all contingency, that the arrangement would have embraced not a *part* but *all* ; and that we can not explain the reason why it did not embrace all, and why the purpose was not formed actually to save all. Especially may this difficulty be admitted by those who hold that an atonement has been made that was sufficient for all men ; that was designed for all ; that was to be offered to all ; and in relation to which it was made certain, by a fixed covenant or decree, that it should be applied to a portion of the human family, and in regard to whom no reason could be assigned why it should be applied to them rather than to others no more guilty than they are. Those who hold these views, as the writer of this Essay confesses he does, have never been able to assign any reason why this arrangement has been made, or why, on the supposition that there was a purpose to apply it to *some*, and a purpose of making it certain that they would embrace the offer of mercy, the same purpose

should not have been made to embrace *all* the race, so as to secure the salvation of the entire world.

We need not shut our eyes to these difficulties. We need not attempt to deny that they are great. We need not hesitate to admit that we can not explain them; that we can not answer the questions which may be asked in regard to them; that we can not meet the objections which may be urged in regard to them. But it should be said here, as will be more fully shown hereafter, that the same difficulties exist in regard to *facts* as they occur in our own world, and the main difficulty is not why sin and suffering will be allowed to continue, but why they are allowed to exist at all. It would be found to be as difficult to answer the question why, if arrangements are made for healing diseases, and if they actually produce the effect in some cases, the arrangement should not be extended to *all* diseases, and why, if such an arrangement was made at all, the knowledge of it was not communicated sooner to the human family, or why it is at present, after six thousand years, known to so small a portion of a suffering world; and it would be just as difficult—and no more difficult—to meet the question lying back of all this, why disease and suffering *were allowed to come into the system at all*. No man commends his own wisdom who shuts his eyes to these difficulties, or who thinks them small and unimportant; no man has been endowed with sufficient wisdom to be able to answer these questions, and to remove these difficulties; no man has shown that any theory of philosophy or religion is exempt from them; no man gets rid of them by turning away from them, and endeavoring to disregard them; no man can laugh them away; no man can remove, or annihilate, or diminish them by blasphemy, mockery or scorn. These facts exist. These difficulties are before us. They are palpable and undeniable. They pertain to all systems of philosophy and religion; they are felt by all men.

The main difficulties to which I have referred in this section have been forcibly and beautifully presented in the following extract from Dr. McCosh:

"It will not be denied that there is pain, and pain to an extraordinary extent, in the world. It is not the mere circumstance that there is suffering that is so wonderful, but the circumstance that it is so great and widely spread. Why is there pain in the world at all? This is a difficult question to answer, but, perhaps, not so difficult as this other: Why does it exist to such an extent? Could not God have created a world in which there was no suffering to tear the bodily frame, and no grief to cloud and shadow the soul? Or suppose we were able to explain this high mystery, and show that there are some incidental advantages to be derived from the existence of pain, the question again presses itself upon us, Why is this suffering so great—so universal? Why do the clouds of disappointment cast shadows so dark and so broad over the prospects of human life? These blackening shadows must surely proceed from some dark and dense body coming between us and the light which shines so brightly and so beautifully from these heavens: and what can that opposing and obstructing obstacle be? Whence the universal liability to disease? Why such wide-spread famine and plague and pestilence? Why is this little infant visited with such grievous and continued agony under the very eye of a mother, whose heart meanwhile is torn as is the bodily frame of the beloved child? Come with us, ye sentimental believers in the perfection of man and of this world, to the bedside of this person, tortured continually with excruciating agony, without the possibility of relief being afforded. For many years has he been tossed there as you now see him, and scarcely remembers a single moment's respite being allowed him, or balmy sleep resting on these eyes to drown his suffering in oblivion. We know that ye turn away from the sight, and leave the spot as speedily as possible: but it is good for us to visit the house of mourning, and we fix you here, till we have put some questions, which you may answer better when so situated than when in the house of mirth, and when you look on this world through the gorgeous coloring with which romance and poetry stain every ray that passes through them. Why, then, this protracted suffering? Perhaps you tell us that it is to teach the sufferer purity and patience. Alas! the groans that break from him, the bitterness of every remark that escapes his lips, all show that these are lessons which he has not learned; and without a special heaven-sent blessing, it is difficult to discover how they should be the natural result of circumstances which seem rather to irritate the spirit into peevishness, to exasperate it into fretfulness, or harden it into sulkiness or rebellion. And when the scene darkens from twilight obscurity into the blackness of night, and the house of disease becomes the house of death, the phantoms thicken and increase. Whence these terrors of death, and the awful gloom which hangs over the sepulchre? Why should it be so appointed that man's earthly existence should ever lead to and end in a dark cavern, into which all men must enter, but into which the eye of those who remain behind can not follow them, and from which no one returns to tell what are his state and destiny?"*

These dark and incomprehensible facts suggested to Pliny the following sad reflections:

"A being full of contradictions, man is the most wretched of creatures, since

* *The Divine Government, Physical and Moral*, pp. 29, 30.

the other creatures have no wants transcending the bounds of their nature. Man is full of desires and wants that reach to infinity, and can never be satisfied. His nature is a lie, uniting the greatest poverty with the greatest pride. Among these so great evils, the best thing God has bestowed on man is the power to take his own life."

With what force of language—with what overpowering sadness—have the difficulties been expressed by John Foster :

"The whole hemisphere of contemplation," says he, "appears inexpressibly strange and mysterious. It is cloud pursuing cloud, forest after forest, and Alps upon Alps."

The sum of the difficulty may now be expressed in a few words :

(a) If it might be supposed for a moment that we had been consulted as to the kind of a world which a Being of infinite power and perfect benevolence would make, we should have said, without hesitation, that he would *not* make such a world as this is.*

(b) If a satisfactory explanation could be furnished of the fact that sin and misery have been suffered to come into the universe at all, and to exist for six thousand years, and if it could be shown how this is to be reconciled with the power, the justice, and the benevolence of God, it might be *possible* to advance with the same mode of reasoning and of explanation, and to show on the same principle that it would not be inconsistent with the power, the justice, and the benevolence of God that they should be permitted to exist at any future period in the history of the universe : that is, forever. If they may be overruled at any one time so as best to promote the great ends of creating the universe at all, and the honor

*I am happy in this to sustain myself by so high an authority as that of Rev. Dr. McCosh, now President of Princeton College.—He says :

"This world is not in the state in which the intelligent and benevolent mind would have expected it to be *a priori*. Let the problem be : given a God of infinite power and wisdom, to determine the character of the world which he would fashion—and man's solution would present a very different world from the actual one. True, the problem is confessedly of too high an order for human intellect to solve it correctly ; but every approximation which he makes, only impresses him the more with wonder, awe and fear, when he compares the results at which he arrives with the actual results—as we must believe them—of heavenly intelligence and love, in the existing world in which he is placed." *The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral*. By JAMES MCCOSH, D. D. LL. D., p. 27.

of the Creator, this *may* be done at any other time on the same principle. At any rate, it remains to be proved that any objection which might be urged in regard to the existence of sin and suffering at any future period, would not lie against their existence at all, and would not demonstrate with equal force that they *could not*, under any circumstances, have been allowed to come into the system:—that is, would be a demonstration against an actual—an undisputed fact; against what has actually existed for six thousand years, and against what has been incorporated into the very history of the world. Such an argument, it is plain, could have no force.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

ART. III.—THE JESUIT BRAHMINS OF MADURA.*

By REV. C. F. MUZZY, Norwich, Conn.

THAT the Romish phase of Christianity was introduced into the maritime regions of India, especially where the Portuguese held dominion, at a very early period, is a fact well established in church history.

The persecutions and acts of fraud and violence resorted to by Romanists for the conversion of the Syrian Christians, and heathen tribes, have excited the sympathy and called forth the indignation of true Christians for the last three hundred years. As early as 1545 the missionary Xavier landed at Cape Comorin, and so vigorous and successful were his labors there, and on the Pearl-Fishery Coast, that, as Pencastle informs us, "the converts on that Coast alone, amounted, in nine years, to upwards of 500,000—all fervent, earnest Christians, desiring nothing more than martyrdom for their religion." This, however, must evidently be taken with considerable allowance. Many may have come to the

*The authorities for the information contained in this article will be found in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. II, No. 3, and from personal observation during a residence of 20 years in the scene of these labors.

missionaries for purposes of worldly gain, and left them again as those purposes were realized or disappointed. That this was so in the case here specified, the present experience of the missionaries, as well as other facts, abundantly testify. The Abbe Dubois says that Xavier's letters to his friend Ignatius de Loyola, show that, notwithstanding all his reputed success, he actually left India in disgust, entirely disheartened at the apparent impossibility of making real converts.*

In this field we find the Capuchins, Jesuits, and other Romapist missionaries, laboring together, each according to the rules of his own order, and under his own chief, but all striving together to extend the influence of the Pope, and advance the interests of the Papal religion. But the converts were nearly all from the lowest castes of the people; and, though greatly degraded, were, as historians assure us, very numerous. "The glory of the Jesuits was their missionary spirit, and the glory of their missions was that of South India or Madura."

This flourishing mission was originally confined within the triangular peninsular of Hindostan, having Cape Comorin for its vertex, the Calroon River for its base, the Gulf of Manar and Paulk's Straits, and the western gants, separating it from Malabar, for its sides. This country was known in the 17th Century, partly as the kingdom of Madura, and partly as the kingdom of Tanjore, which lay in its northeast corner. The shores of the gulf of Manar, stretching from Cape Comorin to Adam's Bridge, were called the Pearl-Fishery Coast, and were the scene of the labors of St. Xavier.†

Within this favored spot, if we may believe contemporary historians, there might have been witnessed, about 200 years since, a bright phase of millennial happiness. Miracles, we

† *Letters on the State of Christianity in India*, p. 3. London, 1828.

* Xavier, though a Jesuit, does not seem to be connected with those who labored in Madura at all; they speak disrespectfully of him, and disparagingly of his labors; but he seems to have been a good man and successful missionary. And while their name and labors are scarcely known to the present generation, those of Xavier are known and highly estimated by all the Catholic population. They sing his praise and call their children by his name, and some almost worship him.

are assured, were numerous, and rivalry and strife unknown. Hundreds of thousands were added to the church, and the converts lived and died in all the fervor of their first love, and with the purity of the angels in heaven. Never was Christian church so blessed and successful, for the primitive Christians and apostles of Christ were far inferior in self-denial, heavenly-mindedness, and in the successful propagation of the Gospel, to the apostles and neophytes of Madura. It must, however, be borne in mind that we are indebted for this information to the missionaries themselves. From Madura, missionary operations were extended to Mysore Gingi, Coimbetoor, and other places, with the same unparalleled success.

In order fully to understand this language, and rightly appreciate the measures adopted to bring about so extraordinary a state of things, it will be necessary to examine somewhat at length the state and circumstances of the country and people at the time these events took place.

At the commencement of the 17th century the kingdom of Madura appears to have been composed of the provinces of Tinnevalley, Ramnad, Scvagunga, and Marivas or Poothacootta, bordering upon the Gulf of Manar and Paulk's Channel, and the ancient states of Madura and Dindigul, lying farther inland. Into the two latter of these no European was permitted even to enter, much less to reside there. This appeared a sad restraint to the missionaries on the coast, and their zeal was ever on the alert to surmount those barriers and carry the gospel to the celebrated Brahmins, or Brakmans, as ancient authors called them—renowned priests or wise men of Madura. So strong did this desire at length become, among the Jesuits, that they resolved to risk every thing and make the attempt. This service devolved upon Robert De Nobilibus, the nephew of Cardinal Belarmine, and grand-nephew of Pope Marcellus the Second.

This remarkable man commenced his renowned labors as a Madura Brahmin about the year 1606; these were carried on by himself and his successors with extraordinary energy and perseverance for more than 150 years.

Respecting the foundation of the Madura Mission, the Jesuit Jouvamy, in his history of the Order, gives us the following particulars :

"Father Robert de Nobilibus, perceiving the strong prejudice of the natives against Europeans, and believing it to be invincible, determined to conceal his real origin, and enter among them as one of themselves. For this purpose he applied himself diligently to the study of the native language, manners and customs; and having gained over a Brahmin to assist him, he made himself master of the usages and customs of that sect, even to the most minute details. Thus prepared for his undertaking, and fortified besides with a written document, probably forged by himself or his companions, he entered Madura, not as a Christian missionary, but as a Brahmin of a superior order, who had come among them to restore the most ancient form of their own religion.

His success was not, however, at first complete. The chief of the Brahmins, in a large assembly, convened for the purpose, accused him publicly as an imposter who sought to deceive the people with his lies in order to introduce a new religion into the country; upon which de Nobilibus produced his written scroll purporting to come from the great Sanhedrim of their caste; and, in the presence of all, most solemnly protested and took a very sacred oath that he had sprung from the god Brahma. At this juncture, three Brahmins, overpowered by such strong evidence and arguments, arose and persuaded their brethren not to persecute a man who called himself a Brahmin, and had proved that he was such by solemn oaths and written testimony, as well as by conformity to their manners, customs, conduct and dress. This seems to have silenced opposition for the time. Having passed through this ordeal so triumphantly, he next gave himself out as a Suniassi, the most sacred of all their devotees, and for the remainder of his life he successfully kept up the cheat. His example was followed by all his successors in the mission, and the discovery of the falsehood, or the knowledge that they were Europeans, is represented by themselves as synonymous with utter ruin. Thus was laid the foundation and chief corner stone of the far-famed 'Madura Mission.'"

For a description of these Suniassi we refer to the "Systema Brahminicum" of Fra. Paolin Bartolomeo, as quoted in the *Calcutta Review*:

"The Suniassi is the fourth and most perfect institute of the Brahmins. He lays aside the poita, or sacrificial cord, composed of 108 threads, in honor of the 108 faces of the god Brahma; but continues the daily ablutions in honor of the lingam, with the appointed prayers and ceremonies. The Suniassi must also wear an orange-colored cloth, about two yards in length by one and a quarter wide, as his chief articles of dress. This being sacred is washed by no hands but his own. He carries about with him a copper vessel with a little water in it for certain appointed ablutions, and for purifying every thing offered to him in charity, upon which alone he subsists. In his right hand he

holds a staff, or club, having seven* natural knots, representing the seven great rishis, or sages. This staff, which is greatly valued as a gift of the gods, must be washed every day with water from the kamodala or sacred copper vessel; and by its power he is preserved from evil spirits. From his shoulders hangs a tiger's skin, upon which he sits and sleeps; this he does in imitation of Siva. He fasts often, eats nothing that has life—flesh, fish, wine, eggs, spirituous liquors, and even certain vegetables are strictly forbidden him. He must bathe in a tank or river three times a day, going through innumerable ceremonies; he must rub his forehead and breast with the ashes of cow's manure: this is the great purifier from sin.† He wears a long beard and hair; sometimes his hair is smeared with grease and hangs in ropes nearly down to his feet, and then it is bound up in rolls about his head. He wears sandals of a peculiar structure, made, says Norbert, so as to avoid endangering the lives of insects, by which they would dislodge the soul of an ancestor."

We do not derive our information on this painful subject from one author merely, but from many, and they are all Roman Catholic; there is not a Protestant among them; most of them are the missionaries themselves. Their correspondence with the Pope and other Romish ecclesiastics is very voluminous, and is contained in the *Letters Edificantes*, published in French, and other books. "The missionaries," says Father Tochard, who was one of them, "had resolved to assume the dress and manner of living of the 'Suniasa Brahmins,' that is to say of the religious penitents. This was a very difficult undertaking, and nothing less than apostolic zeal and love could have enabled them to sustain its hardships and austerities."‡

Thus equipped, with knotted staff in hand and smeared with the purifying ashes of the cow's manure, these Brahmins of the North boldly went forth among the idolaters, confidently denying that they were Europeans and professing to teach the laws of the true God, and endeavoring to convert the heathen to Him.

But who were these men that were engaged for so many years in enacting this stupendous imposture? The high born Nobilibus was the first, and then Father Bouchet,

* Norbert says nine, in honor of the seven planets and two nodes.

† This is spoken of in the *Systema Brahmicum*, p. 47; also 56, 57. London, 1791.

‡ *Letters Edificantes*. Tom. 10, p. 324.

the martyred Brito,† Father Tochar, Martyn, Turpin, De Bourges, Mauditte, Calmette, the wily bishop Lainez, the learned Beschi, the noble De la Fountain, and the venerable Pera la Gac, with many others. Nearly all were Portuguese Jesuits; and we find by their letters, and from other contemporary writers, that all the Jesuits who entered within these unholy bounds bade adieu to all upright principle and to truth; all became perjured imposters, and their lives were one long, persevering, toilsome lie. Upon the success of a lie their mission depended; its discovery—we have it under their own hand—was fraught with certain and irretrievable ruin. Yet they persevered. Suspected by the heathen, they persevered through toils, austerities, mortifications and hardships, almost intolerable to human nature; disowned and refused communion by their brother missionaries, condemned by their own general, stricken by pope after pope with the thunders of the Vatican, knowing that the apostolic damnation had gone out against all that do evil that good may come—still they persevered. For 150 years was enacted this prodigious falsehood, continually spreading and swelling into more portentous dimensions, and engulfing within its fatal vortex zeal, talents, self-denial and devotion, unsurpassed in modern times. Men, calling themselves the servants of the true God, went forth, clad in the armor of hell, and sowing the seeds of perjury, falsehood and imposture, expected to reap holiness and truth. But as they sowed to the flesh they could, of the flesh, reap only corruption.

But we shall see. We have followed these men into the field of their labor; let us now look at the results of their efforts. We have already mentioned that multitudes had assumed the Christian name, and received from their spiritual guides the ordinances of the church and the appellation of very devout worshipers, yes, pure and holy Christians, who had not for a long time committed a sin upon which the confessor could found his absolution.

† Martyred by staying in his field, when sick, instead of going to the coast for aid, lest his true character should be known.

The missionaries assure us that it was common for each missionary to baptize as many as a thousand in a year, and sometimes twice that number. Sistin to Father Martyn, one of the missionaries in Bengal: "You will understand why I feel myself drawn so strangely thither, when I tell you that the Madura Mission is reckoned to have in its communion more than 150,000 Christians, and that every day a very great number is added to it. The least that each missionary baptizes is 1,000 in a year. Father Bouchet, who has labored there 10 or 12 years, writes that for his own part he has baptized more than 2,000 in the course of the past year, and that he has administered this rite to more than 300 in a day; so that his arm fell down from weakness and fatigue." "Besides," says he, "these Christians are not like those in other parts of India. We baptize them only after *strong proofs* of their sincerity, and after three or four months instructions. After they become Christians they live like the angels, and the church at Madura seems a true image of the primitive church." He further assures us, that he has listened to the confession of several villages without finding among them a single individual guilty of a mortal sin. This is an extract for substance from the writings of the missionaries themselves.* They further assure us, that so holy were the Christians of Madura that devils were cast out by them, and the wild tigers were rendered harmless, and many miracles were performed; numerous instances where these were wrought being mentioned.

In regard to their influence over the devil, Father Bouchet says: "I once baptized in a single month 400 idolaters, of whom 200, at least, had been tormented by the devil, and had been delivered from his persecutions by having themselves instructed in Christian doctrine." At Aour, I myself have often been an eye-witness, how Christians, of every age and of both sexes drive away devils and deliver the possessed by a single invocation of the name of Jesus Christ, by the sign of the cross, by holy water, and by other holy practices,

* See *Letters Edificantes*, Vol. X, pp. 41-43.

which the Christian religion authorizes, and of which our good Indians make a better use than most of our Christians in Europe. Thus it is that our neophytes come to have a sovereign contempt of the devils, over whom their quality of Christians alone gives so great authority."

These pure Christians were such favorites with heaven, that the wild tigers were deprived of their ferocity and obliged to forego the pleasure of a meal, even when their prey was within their reach. "We were travelling," says Father Trombloy, "about 10 o'clock at night, and were occupied, according to the custom of the mission, in telling our beads, when a large tiger appeared in the middle of the road, so near me that I could have touched him with my staff; the four Christians who were with me, terrified at the sight of the danger, cried out, *Sancta Maria!* Forthwith the terrible animal moved a little out of our path, and showed, so to speak, by his posture and the grinding of his teeth, how sorry he was to let so fine a prey escape him."—(Vol. xiv. p. 212.)

But why mention miracles as an evidence of piety? Roman Catholics can produce them to order whenever called for. Many pages in these letters are filled with the relation of them. With our authority we would ask, Is not this a glorious picture? Behold the heavenly Christians of Madura! What angelic, sinless lives they live! Their pure spiritual worship of God, their jealous dread of the very appearance of idolatry! Behold how the devils trembled before the weakest of that revered band, and the fierce tigers slink cowering aside, and grin with impotent malice. Behold how miracles are as daily food, and all is so fair, so pure, in the pictures set before us in the modest pages of the apostolic laborers in this rich vineyard. The scene presented is gorgeous and dazzling in the extreme. As when, on the shores of Sicily, temple and palace and towers rise in their exceeding loveliness from the bosom of the waters, and we know that they are not real, and we fear to move an eyelid lest the glorious show vanish and leave naught but common rock and sea; so, amidst these glowing descriptions, we instinctively

feel that all this highly-tinted painting is for effect at a distance, and will not bear minute's scrutiny; and that a near approach to this Jesuitical paradise would show us, instead of apostles and angels, only a paganized Christianity, and crafty and wicked men.

* And so indeed we shall find them.—Let us look at the converts, so highly extolled by their spiritual fathers. “It may be taken for granted,” says the *Calcutta Review*, “that when Christian missionaries assumed the orange cloth and the tiger's skin, and professed to have sprung from Brahma's head, they must have allowed in their followers a like conformity to the superstitions of the country.” Indeed, we do not see how it were possible for them to teach Christianity at all, without at once exposing their nationality and profession; and this, as they all along protested, would have ruined their labors and banished them from the country. Yet Father Trombloy assures us that the native Christians could scarcely endure even the sight of an idol.

Let us go to the mission premises in Madura and watch the native procession, which we have often done. How slowly it moves along. Here we see thousands of people and a number of huge elephants dragging an immense car, which comes creaking along on its six huge, wooden wheels, surmounted by an inverted pyramid of solid timber, upon which rises a stately tower of wicker work, covered with gilded paper, and bearing upon its solid platform an image of a female, attended by a number of men with umbrellas to keep off the sun, and napkins and brushes to drive away the flies. She wears upon her head the sacred tirubashee, or heathen head-dress, a ring of peculiar form in her nose, and the sacred collar, or tahley, upon her neck.* The car is preceded by dancers, half naked, and their skin streaked with sandal wood powder, and ashes, or vermillion. Wild shouts ring through the air, and the ear is stunned with a confused din of horns, trumpets, tom-toms, kettle-drums, clarionets, and other instruments of music. It is night; but, besides a

* Norbert, Vol. I, page 428.

great illumination, and the blaze of innumerable torches, the bright glare of burning camphor, rockets, wheels of fire, Roman candles, and other fireworks, in the construction of which the Hindoes excel, flash upon the sight. The crowd is of the usual motley description, all Hindoos, and all with the distinguishing mark of idolatry upon their foreheads. The car is the gift of a heathen prince, and, of course, such as is used in heathen worship. The dancers and many of the musicians are borrowed from the nearest heathen temple. The female dancers, as most of them are, are the celebrated dancing girls married to the god, that is, formally and publicly devoted to a life of prostitution. The spectators are nearly all idolaters, but the female image, the goddess worshiped, is the Virgin Mary, and the actors in this scandalous scene are the pure and angelic Christians of Madura.

The principal divinity worshiped by the heathen in Madura is the goddess Menarchec. To her is dedicated the immense temple in that city, the splendid tank and pagoda, two miles east of it; and many feasts are held in honor of her, in which she is drawn in procession upon the gaudily decorated car. So, to save the shock to their native prejudices, the angels of Madura were permitted to draw their goddess Mary in a similar vehicle and with the same ceremonies. How lovingly these Christians and heathens associate together on such occasions, Father Martyn informs us: "The chief man of the place with all his family, and the other heathen who were present in the procession, prostrated themselves three times before the image of the risen Jesus, and adored it in a manner which happily blended them with the most fervent of the Christians. Immediately succeeded the usual large number of baptisms. Indeed, processions and dances were favorite modes of conversion with the Jesuits. And these processions and car-drawings are still continued by the descendants of the Madura Christians; many times have we witnessed these ceremonies, in which the Catholic-taste seemed to be far more degraded than that of the heathen, as they carried or drew their images through the streets, full life size, entirely exposed, without the least

drapery, while the heathen images are all draped in the habit of the country. In the number of images worshiped in their temples is this taste seen. While the heathen seldom have more than one or two images in a temple the Catholic images may often be counted by the dozen.*

The travellers, Mandelso and Della Valle, who were in India in 1639 and in 1624, both mention the feasts and the dancing in the Christian congregations. But the heathen not only joined with the Christians in their worship, but the Christians were fond of returning the compliment."

Let us now turn to a veritable and open procession of the heathen. Who are those in the throng with cimbals, trumpets, with kettle-drum and horn, loudest in the devil worship? These are the Christians of Madura! What! those angelic men who so rarely committed a venial sin? and who from their horror of idolatry scrupled to pass a heathen temple, as their missionaries have repeatedly declared? Even so. There they are around the idol; as loud and as earnest in their praises and rejoicings as the most zealous of its worshipers. This the Jesuits pretended to deprecate. Father Bouchet and Bartolde deplore the scandal, but can not promise the legate that it should cease. What, indeed, can they do? It is the custom, and one that they themselves have formed; vain are threats, vain are the fulminations of the pope or his legate.

There was also, as Fra Bartolomeo informs us, diabolical orgies during which the statue of Siven was carried about

* In a small Catholic temple, given to the Mission when the owners became Protestants, there were nearly a cart load of images, many of which are now in the Missionary Museum in Boston. This large number of images the present Jesuits are said to oppose, and they often tell their people that this practice is worse than heathenism, and not unfrequently conceal and preach against them. An instance of this kind occurred a short time since, and when the holy father was in the height of his fulminating zeal against the images which had been removed, some roguish boys secretly pulled down a curtain that concealed a closet behind his reverence, when lo! the images of God, of the Holy Ghost, of the Mother of God, of the saints, angels and devils, stood out before the audience, showing the difference between the preaching and practice of their Spiritual Guide, for which, while the audience laughed, the priest was very angry and cursed them most energetically.

with the Lingam before it. This was similar to the old Bacchanalian or Saturnalian revel of the Greeks and Romans. Men and women having feasted and drunken to great excess, divested themselves of their clothing and suddenly extinguished the lights, when a scene of license and debauch commences far surpassing the imagination of those who have not witnessed it in its grossness and obscenity. This feast is still kept up with all its obscenity and abominable rites. Here, for a time, all castes are upon a level ; the high, the low, the Brahmin and Pariah, are all seen wallowing in the grossest pollution and wickedness. At this festival, and a vile dance of like description, were all the Christian women of the country compelled to attend. It is true that Fra Bartolomeo applied to the magistrate to prevent the temple from compelling their attendance, and actually had some of the converts beaten at the church door, who would go ; but in vain, they would attend. The same state of things, doubtless, existed then which prevails now ; those who cultivate temple lands are bound by the conditions of their tenure to attend the festivals, draw the cars, swing upon the hook, and perform other rites practiced in the temple to which their lands belong. These are the conditions upon which these temples were endowed, and form portions of the trust-deed by which the lands are still held. Nor was this all: the distinctions of caste were rigorously observed. The Pariahs had separate churches, fonts, confessionals, communion tables, catechists and teachers. Marriages were contracted between children six or seven years of age ; and these marriages were accompanied by nearly the whole idolatrous ceremonial of the heathen. The wives of the Christians also wore the indecent tably, representing the god Pular, the Priapus of the Greeks. The Brahmin wore his poita, or badge of his order, and sandal wood, and cow's manure ashes were rubbed upon his body as before. Christians and heathens observed the very same ablutions, and both use the same prayers while bathing, which were really and directly addressed to the idols of the heathen. In short, as the keenest observer would be at a loss to distinguish the Brahmin suniassi of Rome from

the suniassi of devils, so would he be greatly puzzled to distinguish between the Christian of Madura and the idolatrous Hindoo.

We pass to notice the manner in which these proceedings were regarded by the other missionaries and the Pope. During the lifetime of Robert de Nobilibus the first tidings of these unhallowed proceedings reached Goa, and were the cause of surprise and indignation; and in consequence of loud complaints made at Rome, Pope Paul V appointed the archbishop of Goa to inquire into the nature of the rites practiced at Madura, who, though far from being scrupulous, condemned them in strong terms. But the Jesuits, aware of their danger, boldly asserted that the rites were merely civil observances, and had nothing in them of a religious nature; that they were contrary neither to faith nor morality, and were absolutely essential to the propagation of Christianity in India.

Misled by such representations, and by the solemn assertions of the Jesuits, Gregory XV, in 1623, issued a constitution, condemning most of these rites in the strongest language, and beseeching the Jesuits, by the bowels of Christ, to abstain from every rite or practice attended with the slightest offense, or defiled by the smallest tincture of superstition. He ordains that there should be no difference between the different castes in their churches and in the administration of the ordinances. But to avoid public scandal, this ordinance was sent to the Jesuits alone, and they, with admirable tact, kept it entirely to themselves, and continued to do exactly as they had done before. So that the other missionaries in the country knew nothing of the existence of this ordinance until 1680, 57 years after it was given. In the beginning of the 18th century the Jesuits had reached the zenith of their power. One of their number, Le Tellier, possessed more influence over Louis XIV of France than any other man, and that influence was felt in Pondicherry and in all the other French settlements in India. One of the governors, for telling the Jesuits of the worthless character of these converts, was recalled and taught

the evil of speaking the truth, where it was to the prejudice of the Jesuits. Their influence, also, caused the governor to publicly whip and load with chains, and cast into prison, where he died, Naniapa, the company's broker, because he had procured the evidence of learned Brahmins to the fact that the rites above spoken of were religious rites, and founded in the *vatham*. It is true that for this judicial murder Hurbert the governor was recalled and died in disgrace, and the French king ennobled the heirs of Naniapa, but for the time the Jesuits were triumphant. They induced another governor of Pandicherry, M. Martin, to give them unlawful possession of a Hindoo pagoda, which well nigh caused the loss of the city of Pondicherry to the French. It was only retained by giving the Brahmins leave to re-occupy the temple in triumph.

It was in 1701 that their prosperity had so far relaxed their prudence, that some of their followers, representing St. George, broke the images of Brahma and Vishnu in the streets of Tanjore, which brought upon them a severe persecution, in which, as Father Tochard says, 12,000 native Christians stood firm in the hour of trial, and endured most cruel sufferings for their religion. But nothing of all this was heard of at Pondicherry, which is only a short distance across the river from that place. On the contrary, Father Norbert assured the Pope, that, to the shame of their Christian profession, not one was found ready to seal his faith with his blood, and that, while a few fled to the coast for shelter, the Christians of Tanjore flocked by thousands to the pagodas to renounce Christ and receive the indelible mark of Vishnu. This will be found fully related in the *Memoirs Historiques*, pp. 1, 71.* This was exactly the way they behaved in 1784, when Tippoo ordered all the native Christians of Mysore to be seized and brought to Seringapatam, that he might convert them to Mahomedanism. Out of 60,000 souls, says the Abbe Dubois, not a single individual in all this multitude, had courage to confess his faith and become a martyr to his religion; the

* *Letters Edificantes*, Tome x, p. 317.

whole apostatized *en masse*, without resistance or protestation.* How different these facts from the oft-repeated assertions of the Jesuits, that there was nothing more characteristic of these neophytes than the ardor with which they courted martyrdom. It is true that when the peril had passed over, both in Mysore and Tanjore numbers returned to their former faith, saying, adds Dubois, that they had kept the true faith in their hearts, their apostacy had been only external; but he continues, significantly, God preserve them in future from being exposed to the same temptation.

But we have not yet arrived at the depth of deception and imposture of these missionaries of the Pope, as they were called. It was not enough to declare so repeatedly and solemnly that they were not Europeans, but Hindoos; that they were not Christians nor in any way connected with them, but Brahmins of the most holy order, and sprang directly from Brahma's head; it was not enough to adopt the heathen rites of the Brahmins and teach the same to their converts, confirming all their false pretensions by the most sacred oaths, the most persistent and solemn declarations and forged testimonials, and then as solemnly denying to the Pope, as they repeatedly did, that they had done any such thing. All these and many more things of the same stamp, which we find recorded in their own letters, did not seem to satisfy these perjured and impious men; but they proceeded to lay their polluting hands upon the Holy Book of God, and by altering the sacred record, and introducing many foolish and fanciful meanings, and inventing narratives of some of its principal characters, and inserting some of their own silly stories, they made a book which they attempted to introduce as the true Bible, by which their converts were to regulate their lives. This was the celebrated "Ezour Vatham," which, they assured the Brahmins, was one of the oldest and most sacred books of their own religion. "It is easy to see," says Sonnerat, "that the author, in this remarkable composition, wishes to bring every thing back to the Christian religion ;

* *Letters on the State of Christianity in India.*

leaving, however, several errors, lest the missionary should be detected under the Brahminical mantle. The worthy missionary, however, is quite impartial, for he appears every whit as ready to alter and corrupt Christianity as heathenism, and to alter, interpolate, mangle and pervert both, provided he thinks it likely to serve his own purpose." Although this book gave evidence of a consummate knowledge of the Hindoo language, religion, and manner of thinking of the people, yet there is no evidence that it was even temporarily successful. It was better suited to deceive the savans of Paris, and especially the brilliant Voltaire, than for winning credit among the wily Brahmins, for whom it was prepared. A full account of this forged *vatham*, or Bible, with the extraordinary ingenuity and ability with which it was got up, has been given to the public by Mr. Ellis, and will be found, with one or two other attempts of the kind, in the 14th Vol. of the *Asiatic Researches*.

In view of those facts it may be asked, Was there anything which these men held sacred? Was there anything so holy that they feared to lay upon it their sacreligious hands? Mingling light with darkness, confounding evil with good; loving falsehood rather than truth, would they still further tamper with the word of the living God? Would they bring forward any other of their own lying devices as the word of his own inspired apostle? Let the *History of Christ* in Persian furnish the reply.

This impious production was written by the Jesuit, Geronimo Xavier, the nephew of the great missionary; and he did it at the request of Achbar the Great, early in the 17th century, and together with the *History of Peter* from the same mint, was printed in Leyden with the Elzévir types, 1639, accompanied with a Latin translation, and many learned and useful notes from the pen of Ludovicus de Diess. In his preface, the author professes to have compiled his venerable book, the essence of beatitude, from the holy gospel and other books of the prophets; he then, after a brief introduction, commences a legendary account of the Virgin Mary, and the miracles that preceded and followed it. Of her wonderful bringing

up in the temple, and of the vow she there made of perpetual virginity, which, as the first that was ever made by a woman, drew towards her the especial favor of God. He then relates how Joseph was designated as her husband by the miraculous flowering of his staff, and how they lived together as brother and sister ; for which reason, and not on account of his years, Joseph is always represented as an old man with a flowering staff. This is only a sample of a large quantity of the abominable trash and falsehood crowded into this book, and said to be taken from the Sacred Scriptures. The life of Peter, also, with a ground work of truth, contains a congeries of legends and lies, rejected even by the church of Rome as a body, and by all her most eminent writers, and by a curious felicity in falsehood, not even correctly borrowed from the authors, who report or invent them.

Such was the course of the Jesuits in India ; but we have yet to relate the close—the results of this remarkable imposture. Nearly 80 years had passed since the constitution of Gregory XV, forbidding the practices of the Jesuits, had been issued under the ring of the Fisherman. Eight popes, who had all condemned them, had passed away, and yet these Malabar rites, strengthened by the practice of a century, were more deeply rooted than ever. They were now, however, to be dealt with far more vigorously than before.

On the 23d of November, in the year 1700, Cardinal Albani was elected Pope and took the name of Clement XI. Everywhere he found the opinions of men divided, and the most violent and bitter recriminations, concerning the proceedings of the Jesuits in India and China. By themselves, their policy was represented as innocent and necessary, but by their opponents as scandalous, unchristian, and stained with the darkest crimes. The holy Father, though bearing the Jesuits no ill-will, as his bulls *uniginitus* and *vineam domini Sabaoth*, abundantly testify, firmly resolved that the matter should be thoroughly investigated and settled by competent authority on the spot. For this purpose, after anxious deliberation and inquiry, he fixed upon a prelate in whose wisdom and piety he had the greatest confi-

dence, and determined to send him to the East, clothed with the amplest powers, to examine and set at rest forever those unhappy disputes which had so long divided and scandalized Christendom.

Charles Thomas Mailard de Tournon, Patriarch of Antioch, of an illustrious family of Savoy, was the object of this choice. He was of high repute for learning and sanctity; he is described in the brief of Clement XI, dated July 2, 1702, as a man whose well known piety, integrity and prudence, learning, charity, skill in business and zeal for the Catholic religion, rendered him worthy of the highest trust. He was accordingly appointed Apostolic Visitor with the full powers beside of "Legate a Latere," and every ecclesiastic in India and China, Jesuits, as well as all others, were ordered to render him strict and instant obedience. In addition to all this, and to give the affair all the importance possible, Louis XIV placed two frigates at his disposal, in one of which, the *Le Maurepas*, of 46 guns, he sailed from Teneriffe, May 3, 1703, and landed at the French town of Pondicherry in November following; and amidst the thunder of cannon, the chanting of the *Te Deum* by the Jesuits, and the joyful acclamations of the multitudes, surrounded by the clergy and the magistrates of the place, and attended by a mixed crowd of heathens and Christians, he was conducted in a kind of triumphal procession to the mission house. Here he abode during his nine months' stay in India; and it would have been impossible, he writes in his journal, to add any thing to the politeness, the attention and hospitality with which he was entertained.

During these nine months the Legate was indefatigable in gathering information respecting the Malabar rites. He examined the Capuchins and other missionaries. He examined impartial men of the world; he used his own eyes; and most of all the materials of his decree were drawn from the lips of the Jesuit fathers themselves. Artful as they, he set a snare for these worthy men and Fathers Bouchet and Bartolde were taken. He summoned them to a private conference, in which he praised their zeal, seemed to enter into

the difficulties of their position, and so won upon them that they told him all, not disguising even the repugnance they had felt at first to the system of mendicity and imposture which prevailed in Madura. But they did not know that two secretaries were concealed in the room, who took notes of the whole conversation. Not quite satisfied with themselves, however, they proceeded at once to tell their superior, Father Tochard, what had happened. The wily Tochard, alarmed for the consequences of their ruinous sincerity, sent them back to the legate to unsay and explain away their most unfortunate admission. But it was too late ; no alternative now remained but to brave the storm.

The celebrated decree of the legate in regard to these rites was published 1704, July 8, and though, to our Protestant sense of duty and right, not free from superstition and laxity of Christian principle, is, in all respects, a remarkable testimony against the semi-paganism introduced into Madura under the name of Christianity.

This decree is too long for insertion here ; we can only note a few of the rites it condemns and prohibits. The first enumerated is the marriage of young children, and the use of the *tahly*. As these rites were purely heathen in their character, and decidedly injurious among Christians, they were prohibited. If, in the estimation of society, however, some kind of a *tahly* was absolutely necessary for married women, they may use the image of Christ, of the cross, or the Virgin Mary. The nuptial ceremonies, likewise, defiled as they were by so much superstition, were interdicted in Christian marriage. The incredible idolatry and superstition that characterized these Christian marriages will be found described by Norbert in the *Memoirs Historiques*, Vol. II, p. 232. The legate then enjoined it upon the missionaries to extirpate from those ceremonies every thing that savored of superstition ; such as the twig of the arasu tree, emblematic of the Hindoo triad, the circlets for averting misfortune, the seven vessels filled with earth, in which rice must be growing about two inches high, emblematic of the seven planetary gods ; the dishes, also, of rice, betel, etc.,

all dedicated to superstition. As to these last, however, he thinks some latitude may be allowed, especially if the number of vessels and the kinds of food in them are changed. He also forbids the superstitious breaking of the cocoa-nuts before the images, but allows the very practice he condemns, if it be done secretly. It was not without cause that the legate blamed himself so bitterly afterwards for his undue laxity in regard to many of these rites.

Next follows an absolute condemnation of the conduct of the missionaries, who followed the heathen custom in excluding women from their churches, and of publicly celebrating the time of their maturity. This letter is denounced in the strongest language by the legate, as "*obsena consuetudo a genlitium*," an indecent custom of the heathen. Their treatment of low-caste converts was also reprobated, and he severely rebukes the spiritual physicians who would not enter a Pariah's door, even to administer extreme unction, while the heathen doctors never scruple to attend them when dangerously ill. He also notices the custom of converts playing upon the tom-tom and other instruments at heathen festivals and in the worship of devils; heathen ablutions and superstitious bathings, at set times and with certain ceremonies, are absolutely prohibited to all, whatever the pretense may be for them. He prohibits also the use of the ashes of cow's manure, and all marks upon the forehead, arms, or other parts of the body, so common among the heathen, and which form the distinguishing marks of heathenism itself. Finally he declares that the penalty for not observing this decree is excommunication for the superiors of the mission, and suspension for individual missionaries.

This goodly catalogue of heathen rites and observances is far from containing all the scandals that disgraced the so called Christianity of Madura. Below this depth of degradation and falsehood there was yet another abyss still deeper: but, after what we have given, it would but weary the reader's patience, and increase his disgust and horror, to enter into farther particulars.

But instead of disclaiming with loathing and horror such

abominable rites, as every true Christian man and missionary most certainly would, these holy fathers implored the legate to recall his censures, to sanction every thing he had condemned, and to compel the Capuchins and every Romanist in India to adopt the whole of these polluting practices. And so importunate were they that he consented to delay the execution of his decree for three years, to give time for the change, but farther than this he would not go. But as this did not satisfy the Jesuits they prepared for action against the decree.

The course of Father Tochar, the head of the Madura Mission, was to send round to the missionaries under his charge, specific questions as to necessity of these rites to the spread of the gospel, or to its existence in the country. They numbered each rite regularly and required specific answers to each. The rites embraced in these questions were seven, which have been already mentioned; and the answers in every case were that they were necessary and could not be dispensed with. Nor did the mere signing of their names suffice; but they attached to them their solemn oath. Take an example given by their own historian, and contained in the *Memoirs Historiques*: "I, John Venant Bouchet, of the Society of Jesus, do solemnly testify and swear, on my faith as a priest, that the observance of the rites as set forth in the preceding questions and answers, is of the greatest necessity to these missions, viz., to those of Madura, Mysore and Tanjore, as well for their preservation as for the conversion of the heathen." This, and much more of the same kind was attested by all the Jesuits in these missions. Thus these reverend fathers publicly and solemnly make oath that in these missions the religion of Christ must necessarily be joined with the idolatry of the heathen; and yet they had assured the pope that some of these rites had never been performed.

The decree of the Legate reached Rome and was duly confirmed by Clement XI, in January, 1706, with much praise to the legate, who went thence to China to perform a similar service there. But the Chinese Jesuits got the start of him, and made such representations to the Chinese author-

ities that he was apprehended as a spy and cast into prison, where he finally died. Nor were the Jesuits in Madura idle. They deputed Fathers Lainez and Bouchet to Rome with the paper above named, to plead their cause in Europe, and, in the meanwhile, stirred up the Archbishop of Goa to deny the authority of the legate, to suspend the execution of his decree, and to forbid its observance to all the Christians of India. The Pope, scandalized and grieved by this conduct, issued an indignant declaration, that the edict of the Archbishop was rash and presumptuous, void and of no effect.

Their next move was a bold one. To the surprise of every one the government council of Pondicherry passed an act condemning as abusive the decree of the legate, and prohibiting its observance. The answer to this was a pastoral letter from him, written in his prison in China, to the Christians in Pondicherry, dated October 13, 1706. In this letter he reminds the magistrates that things spiritual did not lie within their province, and beseeches them not to be led away by seducers from their obedience to the holy see; and threatens with the thunders of the church every Christian, lay or ecclesiastical, who persisted in disobedience. The act was also annulled by the Pope in 1711.

The deputation that was sent to Rome to obtain a reversal of the decree of the legate, returned and proclaimed their entire success. Bishop Lainez declared that they had gained their cause, and that the Pope had decided in their favor. And Father Bouchet, says Norbert, on a day when the exposition of the sacrament had brought together a large concourse of French and native Christians, came forward in his sacerdotal robes, and, calling to witness the body and blood of Christ, boldly protested before God, that of a truth he had obtained, from the lips of the Pope himself, an express declaration that the decree of the Cardinal de Tournon was in no wise binding. When the Pope heard of this he exclaimed with abhorrence: "Father Bouchet is a liar, and nothing is less true than the story he dares to publish. Far from going away triumphant and comforted, he retired mor-

tified to the last degree at not being able to obtain any thing from us."

Can any thing add to the infamy of such abominable wickedness on the part of professedly Christian ministers?

The next thing the Jesuits did was to draw up a paper stating that the pope had been misinformed as to the facts upon which the decision had been founded, that the rites were not religious, but strictly civil observances. To this paper they obtained the names of many native Christians and a few learned Brahmins. But these statements were utterly false; nor did those who signed the papers, in some instances, understand a word of their contents. In vain Clement XI issued brief after brief; in vain they were branded by Rome in 1714, as alike obstinate and impudent; they firmly held to their beloved rites and practiced them as devotedly as ever. Pope Benedict XIII, in 1727, also issued a brief in which he enjoins the fulfillment of those decrees; but the result was the same as before; the Jesuits paid no attention to it, and went on to do just as they had ever done. This was true, also, in the time of Clement XII, who issued his brief in the year 1734, and five years after another, in which a solemn oath was required of all the missionaries that they would faithfully observe the legate's decrees; they all took this oath, and all, without exception, went on just as before, practicing the very rites from which they had repeatedly and solemnly sworn to abstain.*

Are we shocked and surprised at such unblushing perjury and falsehood? It all, and much more, has its foundation and authority in the rules and principles of the Society of Jesus. Busembaum, as quoted in Ranke's *History of the Popes*,† says, "that the man who makes oath outwardly, without in his mind intending it to be an oath, is not bound by it, unless to avoid scandal, for he has not sworn, he did but jest."

But Benedict XIV took up the matter with so much energy, and pursued it so thoroughly and perseveringly, that

* This oath is given in *Memoires Historiques*, Vol. II, p. 465.

† Vol. II, page 201.

the Jesuits could not well avoid rendering an apparent and constrained submission. At this very time, also, in consequence of the wars between the French and English, it was discovered by the natives that the far-famed Roman suniassi were no other than Faringees, or Europeans, after all. The discovery of their imposture and fraud enraged and disgusted the people, and put an immediate stop to conversions among them; and when the angels of Madura found the least restraint put upon their heathen ceremonies, they rushed by crowds into apostacy; that is, they left a baptized heathenism for its ancient and natural form.

Twenty years later, and those who still professed to be Christians were living in the very lowest state of superstition, degradation and misery. The evidence of the Abbe Dubois corroborates this statement. In his celebrated letters are to be found the record of instances of superstition and ignorance, scarcely exceeded even in the reign of the Jesuits themselves. He says: "During the period of 25 years that I have been their religious teacher and spiritual guide, when I have lived among them and conversed freely with them, I would hardly dare affirm that I have anywhere seen a sincere and undisguised Christian."—(Page 63.)

The final result of this singular and disgraceful contest is related by the historian, Comte de Robeano, (Vol. I, pp. 197-8.) "Such was the rise, the progress and decay of the Jesuit missions in Madura, in Southern India. The sketch is plain, but faithful, and every fact, even every assertion, is substantiated by papal briefs, public accredited documents, or the published statements of the parties themselves. These statements can not be set aside as the offspring of party spirit, or sectarian partiality. The facts and the evidence on which they rest are both before the reader, and we court, yea, we challenge the closest farther investigation. The abominable practices which we condemn have already been denounced and condemned by five popes, by the congregation of the holy office, by the general of the Jesuits, by many

* He ordered that those who would not fulfill their oath should be sent immediately to Rome.

eminent cardinals and bishops, and by whole bodies of Roman ecclesiastics ; and their honest indignation, and their horror at such vileness and infamy, have been expressed in much stronger language than we have ventured to transcribe. So far, indeed, as we are aware, there is nothing in this statement to which any conscientious Roman Catholic might not give his willing assent. Not a single Protestant author has been quoted, not a single doubtful authority is adduced ; else it might seem incredible that such things were allowed to exist ; that Rome had submitted to be bearded and contemned for more than a hundred years by the sworn slaves of the pope ; and that iniquity and crime had soared to such a pitch of audacity. We abhor even to think of the holy name of Christ, and the purity of his religion, in connection with things so detestable ; for surely the mission of Madura, built upon perjury and fraud, given over to superstition as it was, where every chord of falsehood was touched with a master's hand, vindicates for its author the very character of the Father of lies."

In the light of these facts we see to what length in imposture and wickedness men will go, even in the cause of humanity, when they reject the Spirit of God. We also see what pains men will take, and what sacrifices make for an idea, even the favor of God and the salvation of their own souls, in following a false standard of duty. Nor need we wonder that Christianity had incurred so great an odium in Madura ; nor that Romanism, though prevalent in the country for 128 years previous to the arrival of the American missionaries in 1834, should not have left any marked traces of genuine Christianity in the public mind, or introduced even the most simple ideas into the spoken language of the people. Some of the works of the learned Beshi would seem to be an exception to this remark. His *Instructions to Catechists* and *Exhortations to Christians*, possess in many places a practically religious bearing ; yet, connected as it is with the system of Rome, with whom "ignorance is the mother of devotion," its influence, beyond a very narrow circle, is unfelt and unknown.

The present state of the Romanists in Madura is deplorable in the extreme. In the year 1773 the order of Jesuits was dissolved, and from that time, till 1830, their missionary operations were suspended. But so greatly were Protestant missionaries and their converts increasing, that Rome, in the face of all that had taken place in the past, called to their aid the Jesuits, and they have been sent out in considerable numbers, and have taken the place of the Goa priests who entered into the labors of the former Jesuits when they were disbanded, and carried on the work, though on a greatly reduced scale. This has caused great dissatisfaction and many lawsuits.

In the year 1853 the number of Roman Catholics in the district of Madura was 150,000, and the clergy 38; but in consequence of a continuance of heathen rites among them, and their aversion to education, they are, both in intelligence and civilization, far below the heathen with whom they are surrounded. And this state their guides seem to desire. In the year 1835 or 1836, when the Jesuit missionaries re-entered Madura, their first labor was to collect into heaps the school books of the American mission schools, where Roman Catholic children attended, and burn them in the streets, nor did they establish any schools in their stead.

ART. IV.—PSALMS, HYMNS, AND SPIRITUAL SONGS.*

By REV. A. D. LORD, Batavia, N. Y.

FROM this twice stated enumeration, it would seem that the inspired Apostle intended to recognize and approve a three-fold classification of the sacred lyrics then used, or thereafter to be employed, in the services of the Christian Church. Commentators have done but little to settle the meaning of the terms here used; most of the older writers have dismissed these passages with some general expression on the subject, without attempting to justify the classifica-

* Eph. v, 19; Col. iii, 16.

tion, or determine the grounds on which it should be based. Ellicott leaves it thus undecided, Prof. Hagenbach, of Basle, in an interesting article on "Church Music and Song" (*Theolog. Eclectic*, Vol. IV, p. 237), says, "The Apostolic Church recognized Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs. How these were related to one another, it is hard to determine; yet, by Psalms, we are obliged to understand either the Old Testament Psalms, or Christian Psalms modeled after them; by Hymns, songs of praise; and by Spiritual Songs, hymns of a more general character. Olshausen sees no distinction in them, but considers them as being only different terms for one and the same thing." Dr. Lange, as quoted by Prof. Harbaugh, (*Am. Theolog. Review*, III, 272,) gives a curious and interesting disquisition on the subject, but it is rather theoretical than practical.

Believing the careful statement of the classification to indicate that it rested upon important distinctions clearly apprehended by the apostle, and that the grounds of these distinctions may be ascertained and understood; feeling confident that the subject is one of no little practical importance to the Church, we propose, without reference to abstruse theories, or nice æsthetic distinctions, to investigate facts; and to do this by examining our sacred lyrics for the purpose of ascertaining what differences may be found in the matter they contain, on which such a classification can be based.

A slight examination of the hymns, so called, in any one of our collections, will show, first, that a large proportion (about one-half) of them contain no address to the Deity; and second, that an equal number have, in one or more stanzas, a direct address to God. In the greater part of these, the address is in the form of prayer or supplication; while a smaller number contain no petitions, but are filled with devout and adoring views of the character and attributes of God, accompanied with thanksgiving, or ascriptions of praise, honor and glory to him, as Creator, Preserver or Redeemer.

The objects of the class first named, those not addressed to God, are either to state important religious truths, or, when addressed directly to the human soul, to secure its attention

to these important themes, to arouse the dormant energies of its spiritual life, to kindle its emotions, to warm its affections, to intensify its desires, to strengthen its purposes; and thus to cheer it onward in its pilgrimage, and encourage it in its warfare; or prepare it to enter the presence chamber, and present its prayer, or offer its adoration and praise, at the footstool of its King. In the forms of address first named, the soul, deeply impressed with a sense of its want, its weakness, its dependence, comes to God, with faith in his ability to supply all its needs, to ask for that supply. Prayer is therefore the distinguishing characteristic of this class. In the other form of address we find the utterances of the soul, when, its own wants and those of the body being for the time fully supplied, it is filled with a sense of the abounding goodness and mercy of God, and can only pour forth its devout emotions, and express its glowing affections in ascriptions of thanksgiving, adoration and praise. This is the highest style of sacred verse: it is closely allied in character, indeed identical in matter and spirit, with the music of the heavenly world.*

Have we not, then, three distinct classes of sacred lyrics, differing widely in the matter they contain, the purpose for which they are intended, and the frames of mind to which they owe their origin? What names shall we apply to each of these classes? Since Psalm has always been regarded as a sacred word, and, by almost universal consent, has been applied to lyrics used by worshipers of the true God; and Hymn was applied by the Greeks and Romans to the odes used in the worship of their deities; while Song, without the epithet spiritual or sacred, is appropriately applied to any secular lyric poem; it will, doubtless, be admitted that the names in one title are arranged as an anti-climax. We propose, then, that the highest style of lyrics above described be called Psalms, the next, Hymns, and the third Spiritual Songs.

* A short time before his death, Toplady, the author of "Rock of Ages," said, "I can not tell the comforts I feel in my soul; they are past expression. The consolations of God are so abounding that he leaves me nothing to pray for. My prayers are all converted into praise."

Remembering that the Psalm contains praise, the Hymn prayer, or a declaration of faith in God, and that the Song is generally addressed to created beings, no one will find it difficult to classify the contents of any Hymn-book. True, we shall find some of mixed character; this might be expected. Some are Psalm-hymns, Psalm-songs, or Hymn-songs; while a few have the characteristics of all three. Yet it will be found that four-fifths, if not nine-tenths, may be appropriately referred to one or another of these classes. To be satisfied of this, it will only be necessary to examine forty or fifty of the hymns of any collection.*

Adopting this classification, it will be found that the Psalms need no subdivision. Hymns may be divided into four classes: first, those containing prayer only; second, those containing confession for sin or negligence in duty, followed by prayer; third, those in which a meditation upon religious truth is followed by prayer; and fourth, those in which a similar meditation upon the attributes of God, or the work of Christ, is followed by a declaration of trust or an act of self-consecration. Spiritual songs are divisible into three classes: first, those containing statements of doctrine or truth, without the form of address; second, those of warning or exhortation to the impenitent; and third, those addressed to believers.†

*PSALMS:	"Eternal wisdom! thee we praise,"	Church Psalmist,	Hymn 12.
	"Great God! how infinite art thou,"	"	" 13.
HYMNS:	"Father whate'er of earthly bliss,"	"	" 434.
	"Lord, we come before thee now,"	"	" 428.
SP. SONGS:	"My soul, be on thy guard,"	"	" 407.
	"Nor eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard,"	"	" 684.

†HYMNS:	Class I—"Father of heaven! whose love profound,"	Hymn 224.
	"Lord! when we bend before thy throne,"	" 437.
	II—"O thou, whose tender mercy hears,"	" 281.
	"Lord! at thy feet we sinners lie,"	" 289.
	III—"Since all the varying scenes of life,"	" 368.
	"Oh! where shall rest be found?"	" 672.
	IV—"Majestic sweetness sits enthroned,"	" 145.
	"I'm not ashamed to own my Lord,"	" 419.
SP. SONGS:	Class I—"Faith is the brightest evidence,	" 385.
	"Nor eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard,"	" 684.
	II—"Sinners, the voice of God regard,"	" 270.
	"Return, O wanderer, now return,"	" 273.
	III—"Bless, O my soul, the living God,"	Pa. 103.
	"Come ye that love the Lord,	H. 330.

Hoping that an examination of the hymns, etc., referred to in the note, and of others which they may suggest, will show that the distinction claimed really exists, let us turn to the Book of Psalms. These inspired lyrics have usually been regarded as Psalms, without reference to their contents, or the purpose for which they were really intended. They are often spoken of as containing only "matter of praise;" yet it can not have escaped notice that many of them contain no address to God. More than sixty of them accord with our definition of a Spiritual Song, nearly seventy contain prayers, and only about twenty have the form, or contain matter of *praise* to God. An examination of their *titles*, (which Dr. Alexander regards as authentic) will show that the classifications here proposed are recognized in them; four are entitled Prayers, and at the close of the seventy-second, many others are, impliedly, so named; seventeen are called "Songs," and thirteen others have the title "Song or Psalm," so that one-fifth of the whole number are thus designated.

Among these sacred poems we find the types not only of the three great classes of lyrics, but of all the varieties of the Hymn and the Spiritual Song. The 65th, 89th, and 145th, are the grandest specimens of the Psalm. The 17th, 35th, and 143d, are examples of the first class of Hymns; the 51st and 102d of the penitential; the 19th is a most admirable model of the meditative Hymn; the 91st, 119th,* and 139th belong to the same class; and the 73d and 92d are Hymns of faith and trust. Of the didactic Song, the 1st, 2d, 23d, and 37th are good examples; the 52d and 53d belong to the second class; and the 33d, the 95th-100th, the 146th-150th, and many others, to the third class of Spiritual Songs.

"Whoso offereth praise, glorifieth me." One important object aimed at in the presentation of these views, is to call attention to the subject of praise in connection with the services of the sanctuary. Are Christian people aware how seldom any thing in the form of praise to God is sung? Having observed with care for some years, we can affirm that

* All but three of its sections contain petitions.

it is not uncommon to attend church for weeks in succession without hearing in the singing a single ascription to God. True, many ministers are accustomed to exhort us to "sing to the praise of God," and this not unfrequently when the selection is addressed entirely to human beings, or does not contain the name of God!

It has been stated that we have but few true Psalms; probably none who have not given special attention to the subject are aware how few there are. A Doxology is a brief Psalm. The three elements of a Doxology, (as given, in substance, by Prof. J. A. Alexander, Sermon X, Vol. I) are: It is always and exclusively addressed to God; it should contain an ascription of praise, and a wish that others may join in praising him; but a large part of the stanzas, called Doxologies, are mere *exhortations* to others, to praise God, without even the form of a direct address to Jehovah! Can the singing of such *exhortations* be regarded as praise to God? Will he accept it as such? When the minister invites the congregation to sing praise to God, the response should be, We praise thee, O God! But we shall not now indicate the changes that need to be made in our Psalmody in order that *praise* may become a part of our worship; we leave this topic without further remark, hoping that the subject will receive such attention as it deserves.

It is proper to add that, as might be expected, the tunes appropriate to each of these classes differ as widely as the lyrics to which they should be sung. Psalms should be sung to tunes of a grand, stately and majestic movement, like Old Hundred, Park Street, Missionary Chant, Patmos, Shawmut, etc. Hymns should generally be set to tunes of a quiet, smooth, gliding character, and having but a very moderate compass, as Hamburg, Malvern, Ward, Naomi, Balerna, Boylston, Dennis, etc. Spiritual Songs, (with a few exceptions) require the most lively, animated tunes, and those having the greatest range of notes properly employed in sacred music; as Uxbridge, Duke Street, Deerfield, Christmas, Coronation, St. Thomas, Laban, Ariel, Lucas, etc.

A little attention to the subject will convince any one that .

our tunes differ in character as here represented. It is one of the most painful inflictions to be compelled to hear a humble prayer, or a penitential hymn, sung to a lively song tune, or to one so difficult or intricate that all thought of the meaning is lost on the part of the choir, in the effort to execute the music, and on the part of the congregation in their sympathy for the execution perpetrated.

We confidently believe that the practical recognition of this classification of the hymns and tunes will aid greatly in solving the problem of congregational singing. It will be found that three or four psalm, hymn, and song tunes in each of the three most common metres, and one or two of each in metres less frequently used, together with four or five good chants, (which all could easily learn) will answer all purposes; and such a number of tunes could be learned so generally and so thoroughly, that they could soon be sung well by the great body of a congregation. The secret of the good singing in the Protestant churches in Germany, and in many of the Lutheran churches in this country, may be found in the fact that all learn them.

In regard to social meetings, we believe that a selection of twenty psalms, fifty or sixty hymns, and as many sacred songs, could easily be made, which would meet the wants of such meetings better than any existing collection. The tunes needed for such a selection, would not number more than twenty-five or thirty.

* Of the practical bearings of the foregoing views, the aid which a clear understanding of the proposed classification may afford to those who conduct the services of the sanctuary, or lead in social meetings, we do not propose to speak. We leave the subject with those who love the courts of the Lord, hoping that its discussion may do something for the improvement of one of the most important departments of public worship.

ART. V.—TRACES OF AN EXPECTED REDEEMER IN
PROFANE LITERATURE.

By REV. ISAAC S. HARTLEY, New York.

EVERYTHING pertaining to Jesus Christ, his person, history and doctrine, is important. None will question this, who are familiar with the religious thoughts and opinions, which, through the ages, have exercised dominant influence in the world. Aside from their relations to a future life, it is a self-evident proposition, that the doctrines and teachings of Christ, as founded in righteousness and aiming at the well-being of mankind, rise immeasurably above all other theories and doctrines which philosophers and teachers have endeavored to impress upon the race.

The world by wisdom knew not God. What more have the wisest uninspired men achieved, than to confute each other's systems? The world has advanced, but the elements which have entered into its progress, may all be traced to the historic person of Jesus Christ. He alone is its real centre, and every line of truth and light proceeds from him. Thus has it ever been, and thus will it be in the world's future.

But it is not our purpose to write the history of Jesus Christ, nor to show the necessity of his advent, nor yet to demonstrate wherein consist the elements of his power: rather admitting Christ's real nature and character, that he is the Son of God—"God manifest in the flesh," let the inquiry be confined to a consideration of this leading question: Does there not run through, and has there not been apparent in nearly every religious creed or belief, the idea of a Saviour, and a coming Saviour; and is not this same Saviour, he whom the Scriptures introduce to us as Jesus Christ, the Son of Joseph and Mary, the only-begotten Son of God? Such is the question it is proposed to consider.

It has been said that Christ's claim as the Saviour of the world rests purely upon his own testimony; whereas that man can be the real Saviour of Mankind, who is witnessed to, not by himself but by the testimony of all peoples. Grant this

to the opponent of Christianity ; let man arrogate the right to say what shall be the character of the testimony concerning a deliverer to the race ; yet we ask : Does not nearly every early religious creed, from the narrowest to the broadest, from the simplest to the most philosophic, point to a coming Saviour ? Was not this their life and power, their hope, their salt, the element in them which has preserved them from total decay ?

Beyond all question, it was in Paradise where man first enjoyed communion with his Maker ; and in this spot, also, where occurred that scene which led God to cease further personal fellowship with him. The Fall thus established, and the early pair driven from the Garden, it was in other localities that they and their children sought a home. Whither they journeyed, or how rapidly their descendants increased, is not to the present purpose. But give centuries to the lives of the founders of the race, and locate the migrations of their children wherever you please, wherever they did wander, they carried with them not simply a recollection of their primal innocence and of the joys which had been the experience of the race in Eden ; but in sacred gardens, groves or inclosures, in Eden, as a model, it was where they rendered that worship to God which they believed still to be his due. And what is to be noted, is not simply the early attested truth, that man was expelled from Eden, or that the gardens or inclosures of the first worshipers were modeled upon the traditions of the garden from which their parents had been driven ; but with all this in them there was a *river*, as the *river of life* in Eden ; and in the *midst* a *tree*, as the *tree of knowledge* in the midst of Eden ; and *guarded entrances*, as were also the entrances to Eden's inclosure ; and *altars* ; and among them, one dedicated to one whom both the Grecians and Romans, in preserving for us this wondrous fact, call Hercules ; or, as he is defined again and again, the Saviour, in whose person, as the deliverer, they believed was to be vanquished that great serpent, who, as their parents and tradition had informed them, introduced sin into the world, and all its consequent woes. Now how far these same

gardens or inclosures, where worship was offered, were molded after the original garden, and the extent, also, to which tradition has handed down all the main facts in the primal history and defection of the race, are subjects by themselves ; but that in the worship of the most ancient of all people, there was not originally an altar ; and that that altar was consecrated to a coming avenger of man's guilt, is a circumstance as well authenticated, as that the early inhabitants of the world ever had a worship ; and that it originated in the garden from which, by an offended God, they had been expelled. True, in all the devotions of the early people, this altar did not receive that distinguished recognition which the Saviour of the world now receives ; as side by side with it stood other altars ; but from the fact that there was thus erected an altar to a coming deliverer, there is not traceable the shadow, which every advancing century shortened, till the real image itself appeared, who, that is at all familiar with the history of man, and the manner by which the facts pertaining to the founders of the race have been preserved, as well as the religion which was theirs, can question ?

Indeed, were investigations to be pushed along the avenue upon which we have now simply entered, with the circumstance already alluded to, such facts as these, with greater or less distinctness, would be made manifest ; the very streams which coursed through those same sacred inclosures, and through all the gardens which were consecrated to worship, were looked upon as typical of a greater stream or cleansing yet to come ; and before the joys, which these same gardens symbolized, could be entered upon, a sacrifice was required. For, to the early worshipers, these same sacred inclosures were but types of heaven, and being such, none could enter them without first offering the prescribed sacrifice ; and with this, this other fact, that in the celebration of Adonis, both in the gardens and in the later temples, (and how near this same word Adonis resembles Adoni, the Hebrew title of the Redeemer) but in the observance of the rites of Adonis, on a particular night, after an image had been laid upon a bed, and over it the officiating priest had made the most bitter

lamentations, turning and anointing the mouths of his assistants, these are the words he would solemnly whisper to all near him: "Trust thou in God, for out of pain salvation is to come;" which glad news, so soon as the people heard, at once would they turn their mournings into thanksgivings, and their sorrows into joy. Yes, and more still; the early people, in locating their gardens, so placed them as that all access to them might be defended; and, as in the case of the famous garden of Hesperides, it was surrounded with a high wall, lest the oracle should be fulfilled, which affirmed that the son of the deity would at a certain time appear, and having opened a way of access thither, would carry off the golden apples which hung on a mysterious tree in its midst. Nor would this be the final fact made known, but such other incidents, also, in the history of man, his birth and fall, Eve, and the consequences of sin, paradise, its shape, contents, and the way in which it was guarded, would be revealed as would lead to the conclusion that the early people's knowledge of the origin of things, and man's primal history, were quite as complete as is that knowledge to-day, though before the race there lies the word, 'penned by hands guided by the Spirit of the everlasting God.

It is well known that the origin of sacrifices is coeval with the remotest period of man's appearance on the earth; and its practice formed the first outward exhibition of worship by the race; and in whatsoever parts of the world the immediate descendants of the first pair journeyed, thither was it as a rite borne; and observed to a degree equal to their needs. Now, concerning the practice of sacrifices among the Phœnicians, the following is the clear record of history: And first, children were the victims; and they were not offered up, merely on the ground that the blood of an innocent one was peculiarly acceptable to the being sacrificed to; but from the belief that the object nearest and dearest to the sacrificer was the purest and most acceptable offering he could present to his Creator and God. It was not Jehosaphat's deep vale, nor Olivet's ashy mount, that was first illumined with the flames of consuming children. The Jews, in this, but imitated the

practices of the people to whom allusion is now had. The chosen people but replenished the fires which the Phœnicians had kindled ; or fanned the coals which had been left near their altars. Horrible as was this practice, and extensively observed, yet it seems not to have reached its greatest refinement till, as became the custom later, for a prince, or a chief person, to bring forth his only son as a necessary victim, and, before all the people, to sacrifice him by way of atonement for any evil with which his nation was afflicted or threatened. This act the early Phœnicians called their "mystical sacrifice," or service ; and it originated from no freak nor caprice ; but from an example exhibited by one Cronus, who they believed to have been both a god and a king. The example referred to is this : It appears that this same deity, Cronus, the Phœnicians called "Il ;" and that in due time there was born to him by a certain nymph, an only son. An occasion having arisen in which Cronus deemed it necessary to make a sacrifice, he is said to have taken his only son, having previously arrayed him in a royal vesture, and have offered him up to his father, for the well-being of the people whom he governed. But if this same Cronus was with the Phœnicians the same as the god Il, as is claimed, and Il of the Phœnicians is the same as El of the Hebrews, and if, according to St. Jerome, El or Il was one of the ten titles of the true God, Cronus could not have sacrificed his son to his father, for the reason that he was himself the chief and original deity ; consequently there was none above him to whom he could sacrifice. To give more emphasis to what is here said, we repeat—if the Cronus of the Phœnicians was the same as Il, or El, of the Hebrews, and this same Cronus elsewhere is termed (*υψιστος*), the most high, and (*υψουπανιος*), the most heavenly, and had the Elohim for his coadjutors, he had no father to whom he could bring an offering ; hence the Phœnicians, when they immolated the innocent in their homes, or, more particularly, the prince when he offered up his only son, this sacrifice, having really no previous example, was simply a type and a representative of something to come ; and consequently pointed not to the

past, but to the future; not to an event which had been accomplished, but to one which was yet to be accomplished.

But not to discuss this mystical service of the Phœnicians, and to confine remark simply to a statement of its double character, which was this: in the first place, this sacrifice was to be offered by some royal personage—by a prince; and secondly, his only son was to be the victim. Such were the prime requisites of their early oblation. Nor was what may be called their creed much larger; for when reduced to its simplest statement, it seems to have been as follows: Their supreme deity, Il or El, whose associates were the Elohim, in process of time was to have a son, well-beloved; and as remarkable as it may appear, also, his only begotten son; who was to be born of a nymph Anobret, a name which, according to the best Phœnician scholars, signifies “grace,” or according to others, “the fountain of light;” and as a sacrifice he was to be offered up to his father, by way of a satisfaction for the sins of others, that God’s vengeance might be averted, and, at the same time, such ruin and universal corruption prevented as might threaten them at any period of their history. Such is a resumé of their belief. And now, be the origin of this their mystical sacrifice what it may, or come from whatever sources, orally, or through written records; let it be based upon whatever model; its outline, if it be claimed, the good old patriarch Abraham offering up Isaac—that such at all should have been the belief of the early people, is as remarkable as it is true, and as positive as it is definite. Is it hinted that all this is but myth, and that the knowledge we have of the Phœnicians is imperfect and unreliable; or that the Greeks, in their account of Phœnician manners, colored them with what they knew from other sources? Grant all this, and as much more as an inquiring mind may be justified in asking; yes, let one be far broader and more positive in his assertions, and say that there never was such a people; let all be as mythical, call all a dream or a fancy, or, the legend of some over wrought mind—whether these accounts be mythical or not, or a dream or a fancy, the fact that the very earliest historians have ascribed

this belief to this nation, is it not but a ratification of the truth, that traces of a Redeemer, dimly marked though they be, do thread early history—be that Redeemer he whom we call Jesus of Nazareth, or any one of the fifty-eight others, which history likewise testifies has laid claim to, the same dignity? Call all this record a shadow—account then for this shadow. Why, the Phœnicians derived this their notion from the Jews, and all their conceptions of religion and worship were obtained from the same source? Impossible, for the Phœnicians were sending out colonies a century before Abraham, the founder of the Jewish people, was born. Abraham was an idolater when the Phœnicians were practising their religion. But concede it, let it be maintained that this maritime people of Palestine derived from the Jews all their knowledge of worship, that there was current an opinion that, before Heaven could be appeased and man be brought into communion with God, a sacrifice was required, and one alike worthy of man's nature and the being to be appeased; does not the fact remain the same? and it is the fact that is to be accounted for, and not the method by which it was obtained. Though the notion be borrowed, it is its existence, which is to be heeded. Are all the stories of creation, the fall, the serpent, the tower of Babel, the flood, myths? Here truth or fact form the basis; need truth any the less prevail, in the circumstances alluded to? And now, just what is found stated or alluded to, as forming a part of the customs of the Phœnicians, is discoverable also among those acts which later nations attributed especially to their chief personages or heroes.

Any one, familiar with early classical history, will acknowledge that a very large proportion of the heroes of antiquity have, as the end of their existence, one grand and conspicuous action; and that action is not self-glory, or the exhibition of any peculiar set of virtues, but a victory over a serpent; and that foremost among these same heroes, as the vanquisher of this common enemy, stands one who has come down to us bearing the name of Apollo, or *Σαῦρηρ*, as he is again and again called. And now, is it not remarkable, that the follow-

ing should be the testimony of the ancients concerning the birth, nature, mission and character of this same victor? That when he was born into this world, it was in a sacred inclosure, typical of an early paradise; that when he actually descended to the earth, the rocks, fields and mountains rejoiced in his presence, and acknowledged him, with one accord, as the lord of nature and of all things; and that having come, the character in which he appeared was first that of a prophet, and afterwards a shepherd; and that he should be called the "shepherd of men;" and later the title of "horn" should be applied to him; and, still later, that of "the anointed?" Hear the Cyrenian bard, Callimachus, chanting his name and nature:

Εὐσε σε μητρὸν

Γεινᾶν' ἈΟΣΣΗΤΗΡΑ

"Thee thy blest mother bore, and pleased, assigned
The willing Saviour of distressed mankind."

Is it not likewise significant, that the main object of his advent was to be the overthrowing and the destruction of the same great serpent Python, ever spoken of throughout all early history as the cause of the wretchedness and ruin which have visited the earth, and by means of which man lost fellowship with heaven? Listen to Hesiod, as in one flowing measure, he would embalm the expectation of his people as to their need:

Ἰμεροεντα γονὸν περὶ πάντων Οὐρανίωνων

"The child or birth desired above all others of heaven."

Say what you please about the origin of mythology, and the numerous figments and fancies which enter so largely into its composition; still we claim that all mythology need not be as the fabric of a dream; it need not be wholly destitute of truth; nor is it necessary that we should view all its representations as having no background, or possessing no reality whatever. But just as in a landscape, which an artist would portray upon his canvass, while everything drawn thereon has fact for its basis, as cloud, and hill, and stream, rock, and tree, yet in his arrangement of these, he may follow his own plan in location and representation, here putting a tree, where

in the scene before him is a rock, or there representing the stream as broad and full, whereas the one upon which his eye has just rested is narrow, broken, sluggish ; or here he introduces a hill, and there a valley ; so indeed, with mythology in its higher development ; its base need not be purely the imaginings of a heated mind, framed of such stuff as visions are made of ; rather its creation is simply the longing of a nature conscious of its true origin ; and its development but the cravings of this same nature once more to be united with the one from which through sin it has been severed. Say with Newton, that "mythology is nothing but historic truth in a poetic dress;" or with Bacon, that "it consists solely of metaphysical and moral allegories;" or with Bryant, that "all the heathen divinities are only different attributes and representations of the sun, or of deceased progenitors ;" or with Sir William Jones, that "it sprang from the veneration paid by men to the vast body of fire, which looks from his sole dominion like the god of this world, together with an immoderate respect shown to the memory of powerful or virtuous ancestors, especially the founders of kingdoms, legislators, and warriors ;" or view it as a great monster, a compound of the divine and human, formed into a sight grotesque and repulsive ; yet, strip it of its flesh and fat, and muscle, and cord, and beneath all there is a framework, a skeleton ; and that skeleton, in the relation in which it is here referred to, is none other than that which was clothed upon in the fullness of time.

And now, just what was true of the Grecian Apollo was true, also, to a certain extent, of the son of Jupiter and Almena, Hercules. Separating, so far as can be done, the chaff from the wheat, and condensing all the available knowledge of this hero to a few sentences, is it not remarkable, also, that the early nations should, in their description of this hero, thus speak: "that when he should be born, a cure was to be brought for all human ills ?" As the Orphic hymn has it :

Νουσων θελκτηρια παντα κομιζων

"Bringing a cure for all our ills."

and now born, his mission was to slay ; and that he did

slay the enormous serpent, which guarded the sacred apples in the garden of Hesperides ! And with all this exemplification of mercy and love, that in a fearful contest he overcame and mortally wounded the king of the infernal regions ! And is it not remarkable, also, that there should have been ascribed to him the most wonderful works—in eternity beginning, previous to his advent, those labors which in time he was to complete ?

And just what was thus said, and ascribed to Apollo and Hercules, was ascribed also to Cadmus. Whether this hero be a fiction or a fact, let others say ; the one end of his mission was to destroy this same serpent, the deceiver of men ; and having established order out of confusion, to secure to the world deliverance from the thralldom under which it groaned. What were the views and expectations of the race at the period now under view, can probably best be seen by recalling the memorable fable of Pandora and Prometheus. Without giving this fable in detail it is simply asked, when the mysterious box was opened, by which the world became inundated with sin and misery, was it not "Hope," that was said to have remained at the bottom of the casket ; and not Hope

As a garland on affliction's forehead worn,
Kissed in the morning and at evening gone—

but that Hope, which is as

A star, that leads the weary on,
Still pointing to the unpossessed,
And palling that it beams upon—

a Hope, that the world, then flooded with sin and woe, would be reclaimed, and reclaimed in a way which should at once remedy the evil everywhere disseminated ; and, having fortified the soul against all the consequences of sin, would furnish it with those consolations, which, in spite of its guilt, would free it from future fear and alarm ! True, all these disclosures amount to but moonlight or starlight ; yet is there not light ? And does it not become as sunlight, particularly when there is thrown upon it the knowledge which now belongs to the race, and for which the early people, amid all their rites and ceremonies and beliefs, so ardently longed ?

It may here be added, also, that the Greek demons, as the Hebrew Baalim, were likewise but symbols of a coming Mediator. As the nature with which they were invested, and the offices that were ascribed to them, were the same as the nature and the office revelation ascribes to Christ. Much may be said about these same men-gods or half-gods or middling gods, still it may easily be shown that the Grecian notion of them was as follows : that they were begotten gods, and partakers of divinity and humanity, and co-rulers with the greatest god ; and to their office of instructing men, there were associated the interpretation and transmission of the affairs of men to the gods, and the affairs of the gods to men—for man, his prayers and sacrifices—for the gods, their commands and the rewards of sacrifice. The demonic theology when summarily expressed was clearly this : God mixeth not with man, but by the mediation of a demon ; and it is through a demon that all communion is to be begun, continued, and maintained. Through sin, man has forfeited heaven's favors, still heaven is not altogether closed against him, nor are its blessings wholly beyond his reach, as a way of approach and communion is his through a demon.

The Sibylline Oracles deserve consideration in this connection. Without entering upon a general discussion in regard to their origin and genuineness, we state a few facts which induce us to give credence, in the main, to some portions of them: *First*, no sooner had Stilico destroyed the original leaves, than the Roman Senate, valuing them as they did no other records, at once dispatched persons to different parts of Asia, to the islands of the Archipelago, to Africa and to Sicily, in order to make a new collection of them; and on the return of these literati with their copies, such as were known to have formed a part of the original were re-written and preserved as had been; those which had been destroyed. And that the learned in Rome, in the time of Honorius, did not know what were some of the teachings of the Sibyls, is inadmissible. *Secondly*, these oracles, as thus revised, were quoted both by the friends and enemies of the Republic ; and by those also who believed and those who disbelieved in

their prophetic character ; a circumstance likewise inadmissible, if the revised were not as the originals. Besides, we think that no Roman Senate would have committed to the care of an Angural College what it had reason to believe was a forgery ; and that it did commit to the care of two especially appointed, the fragments thus brought together, can be as well established as that deputies were ever dispatched to gather these fragments, or that the collectors ever returned. Finally, if these collected leaves were not as the originals, or were forgeries, then hostility, at one period of their history, to the system of idolatrous superstition, becomes of all subjects the most difficult of explanation.

And, primarily, we note the method by which these sibylline pages came to be the inheritance, not merely of a single age, but the property of all time. Julius Cæsar, by the display of extraordinary powers of mind and energy, having risen from the rank of a prætor's son to the highest honor in the gift of an admiring people, to crown his ambition, the only thing that seemed now to be wanting was the title of a king. But as this title was disloyalty to contemplate, and, without the sanction of the Senate, most unsafe to assume, the difficulty lay in bringing this honored body to establish it ; and, having established it, to bestow it upon him. One of his adherents, therefore, resorted to the following expedient, to justify the Senate in the desired action ; and, at the same time, to wring from them the coveted honor. He produced a prophecy from the Cumæan Sibyl, of a king who was to arise at this time, i. e. about B. C. 50, or A. U. C. 650, whose monarchy was to be universal ; and whose government, also, was to be necessary to the peace and happiness of the world. Such was the way in which one of the Sybilline prophecies came to be disclosed. Tully, the leader of the republicans and the hater of kings, opposed with all his ability the desired action of the Senate. But what is more to the purpose, Tully, in his efforts to check the Senate in any rash action it might contemplate, instead of denying the fact that the oracle did so declare, in his answer, labors to show simply that the quotation introduced was not applica-

ble to Cæsar who sought it, and upon whom his adherents desired to bestow it. There is to come one who is to be a king, 'tis true, but that king is not Cæsar; "let us, then," he says, "adhere to the prudent practice of our ancestors, and keep the Sibyl in religious privacy; and the more especially, since these writings are calculated rather to extinguish than to propagate superstition." And but little is hazarded, when it is said, that could the whole truth be known, what Cæsar's friend thus declared to the assembled Senate was not a fact, or an expectation only once referred to in these same oracles, but one which, in varied shades of meaning or distinctness of outline, marked many of them; from the conviction, that these same records derived their contents not from prophecy drawn from Jewish books or parchments, but from traditions which had been handed down from all times; as it is in this, and in this alone, where is to be found a satisfactory explanation of the care which, as oracles big with hope, they received, and the jealousy also with which they were guarded.

Nor was this disclosure in the Senate-house of one of the Sibylline leaves the only exhibition of what were their bearing, or to what they referred. For so it is, that just what we hear the orator explaining and defending, and the admirers of Cæsar applying, the poets of the same age, taking up the same line of authority, likewise chant in all the sweet strains of flowing verse; with this difference, however, that while the orator would interpret and apply these leaves to secure power and glory; the poets would apply them to those whose smile and patronage they so anxiously sought. We shall content ourselves with a single reference to Virgil. Among his works there is what may be termed a congratulatory poem, addressed to his friend Pollio, who, when the poem was written, enjoyed the office of consul. Virgil having referred to the oracle of the Cumæan Sibyl as the source whence he drew the prediction, without pausing to declare what it was, at once embarks upon its application. And this is the fact which he would have his friend Pollio distinctly remember: that the child in whose fortunes he was so deeply inter-

ested, and whose future greatness was the one object of his ambition, might prove to be that person whom the sibyl had announced as a deliverer from the evils the world then was experiencing, and the fears, also, which seemed to be shared by every member of the race. In him, in this expected one, physical and moral evil are to be rebuked; and Pollio, your son, may be the rebuker. Such, briefly, is the thought to which he would give expression. As the account is to be found in the fourth eclogue of this poet, it need not here be introduced. But it is submitted after an attentive perusal of what Virgil declares, and a remembrance also of what were the expectations of the Romans at this very period, through their channels of instruction, independently of the hope of the Jews and the sources through which they derived their anticipations, whether the reference made to the one born of Pollio, warrants not the assertion that the following was the poet's conception of the coming one: that he was to be of heavenly extraction, even the high offspring of the gods, the great seed of Jupiter; that he was to be the author of a universal peace, and by reason of his greatness to command the whole world; and, in this universal government, exercise was to be given to the most sublime virtues; that he was also to cause all violence and injustice to end; and that while he would restore the life of man to its original simplicity and innocence, he would, at the same time, be the means of bringing him back, so far as his condition was concerned, to its former happiness and security. Nor were the works which he was to accomplish to end here; but in his government of all things, and in his securing blessings for the race, in him all the causes of death were to be abolished; and, having destroyed the great serpent, he was to establish such a kingdom as would extend its blessings even to the fruits of the field, and the beasts of the earth! Most remarkable language! and so accurate, in its general statements, as to incline one almost to say, that at its penning there lay before the writer, not simply the prophecy of Haggai with all its pathos and vehemency of expression, but the sublime revelations of Isaiah, Israel's master prophet, her

faithful rebuker, her glowing, earnest and impetuous preacher. Surely, then, the Romans at least must have had some knowledge of an expected Deliverer or Messiah, and quite a century before his birth.

And wonderful is the parallelism, also, which is found to exist between these Sibylline leaves and the Jewish prophecies. Is it said that these leaves were but fragmentary transcripts of the parchments in the hands of the Jewish rabbis? It can not be; for if we may credit Roman historians, the books of the Cumæan Sibyl fell into Roman hands when the Romans were a very obscure people, and destitute of connection with other nations, and long before any part of the Old Testament in the Greek tongue was extant. But let it be so; still the fact that a Saviour was expected remains. From whatever source the Romans got their Sibylline records or sayings, the fact that they believed in a coming Messiah, and that his advent was near—nay, as Virgil would have his patron feel, that it was in his home, perhaps, where he was first to be revealed—is the circumstance which is to be noted and cherished; and cherished as but a supplement or corroboration of that same belief and teaching, which, as has already been observed, in ages much earlier, received a different though none the less clear form of expression.

It may not be out of place to introduce here some quotations from heathen writings concerning the advent of a Messiah, as expressive of their own personal convictions, as well as the hopes of the people for whom they wrote, and among whom they lived. And they are quoted with the belief, that their opinions were derived from traditional sources, the instructions and symbols in their worship, and also in part from records which they had seen. Says Suetonius: There was an old and fixed opinion all over the East, that it was decreed by heaven, that about that time—i. e. the advent of Christ, some person from Judea should obtain the dominion over all. And Tacitus, almost in the same words, remarks: Most of the Jews had a persuasion, that it was contained in the ancient books of their priests, that at that very time the East should grow powerful, and some person from Judea should gain the

dominion. There is the record, also, that the same year in which Pompey took Jerusalem, the Sibylline oracle having declared that nature was about to bring forth a king to the Romans, the terrified Senate at once decreed: "That none born that year should be educated;" and that those whose wives were with child, full of the greatest hopes, applied the prophecy to themselves. And it is the united testimony of Appian, Plutarch, Sallust and Cicero, that it was simply this prophecy which spurred Cornelius Lentulus in his energies, as he conceived the Sibyl had reference to none other but himself. Nor was it until Cæsar received his fatal wound, that Cicero, fired with contempt, and alarmed at the number who looked for its fulfillment in themselves, gives his countrymen to understand as follows: that while the oracle did thus declare, still he would have them know that its fulfillment was not to be experienced in Rome, and hence could not be interpreted of any future Roman king; but when accomplished it would be in other lands. Indeed, it was for writing against a kingly government, fanned by a discussion as to whom the expected one referred, that Cicero lost his head.

But far earlier than some of these Roman writers, crossing the Adriatic and Ionian seas, and without entering into any full compend as to what had been and were the expectations and teachings of the Greeks on this subject, yet, so far as the introduction of a few sentences may avail, let us see what, likewise, must have been their hopes, as well as the instructions of their philosophers. And, bowed down with the same anxieties which were so common throughout the world, and conscious of the same need personally, good old Socrates, in one of his public addresses, and in answer perhaps to an inquiry put to him by one who would have him tell more of what he had, it may be, just hinted; thus tells his countrymen: "Athenians, you must wait till a personage appears to teach you how you ought to conduct yourselves towards God and towards man;" and when asked by Alcibiades, "Who is he that shall thus instruct mankind?" the great teacher replied, "It is he who now takes care of you, and is concerned for you." And Plato, whether so

taught by his preceptor, or deriving his knowledge from common tradition, we know not, gives expression, in the main, to the same sentiments. "What petition, Plato, will be the most pleasing to God, or what worship is it with which he should be honored?" and he replies: "That we may know what prayer will be most pleasing to God, and what worship should be rendered to him, it is necessary that a lawgiver should be sent from heaven to instruct us; and O, how greatly do I desire to see that man, and who he is;" and, on another occasion, he adds, "This lawgiver must be more than a man, for every nature is governed by another nature that is supreme to it, as birds and beasts by man who is of a distinct and superior nature." Nor does he rest here; but, just as if he had before him the Jewish rolls, and had copied from the 53d chapter of Isaiah the description of Christ's person, qualifications, life and death, he proceeds: "This just person must be poor, and void of all recommend save that of virtue; and as a wicked world will not bear his instructions and reproofs, in three or four years from his entrance upon his work he is to be persecuted, imprisoned, scourged, and at last put to death, or rather be cut in pieces as sacrifices are cut." And it may here be asked, among the mysteries which Plato confesses to have received from the ancients by tradition, may not one of them have been the mystery of a coming deliverer, together with the signs which should precede his advent, and which should mark him as the desire of all nations? "I have entered the world in sin," said the far-famed Aristotle, "I have lived in ignorance, I die in perturbation, Cause of causes pity me."

Such were the hopes of the Greeks; and such is their testimony to that same fact which the Romans, but a little later, as has been seen, made so prominent. Indeed, the Greek sculptors, sharing likewise the common expectations of their philosophers, when carving the statues of their gods, cut them in the highest perfection of human grace and beauty. And it was from no particular devotion to their favorite creed, nor yet from any distinct conviction that humanity was the worthiest type of the Godhead: rather that when the expected

deliverer should come he would be in the same form their carvings or statues symbolized. At some period in the world there is to be a wondrous incarnation. God is to be seen in humanity. Till he come, then, let these statues, of more than human beauty, symbolize him. It was not so, however, among those people who worshiped the sun, and moon, and stars, or the lowest order of created things. In truth, the different nations of the world spoke of and represented the expected deliverer, just as were the purity of the sources from whence came their instructions concerning him; and just as the promise of his coming at no one time was altogether lost, so there is no nation in whose history and worship there is not something, if not directly pointing to, certainly is so far suggestive of him, as to lead to the belief that their knowledge of him, though meagre and indistinct, still was of such a degree that they could look forward to the future with the liveliest hope and cheer! A knowledge of an expected Saviour was theirs; and it was a knowledge measured by the purity of their faith.

We present the results of our investigations into profane history in the following questions: Why among the nations of the world have sacrifices been offered, and that with many the victim selected a pure animal, an unblemished calf or ox; and when offered up, especially by the very earliest people, offered upon the altar set apart for the coming deliverer? Whence the notion, also, of a blood that could be shed purer than man's blood; a blood which the ancients called "Ichor," the very term which the Psalmist uses to denote the precious part of the lamb, which was always consumed upon the altar; and a word which Zechariah likewise employed to describe that "price or value" prophetically set upon the future Saviour? Why, also, the universal notion of a vicarious atonement—that, if sin were ever purged, it was to be by the blood of another, and that other the sufferer in man's stead? How came worship with man's blood to be universally prevalent? or why, among the nations, the continual advance in the observance of sacrifices, until the most noble and virtuous were selected as the most appropriate and acceptable victims?

Here is but a tithe of the records : Codrus, the Athenian king, immolates himself for the sins of his people ; Curtius sacrifices himself for the Romans ; so the Decii, the Fabii, and others. For the Greek army, Agamemnon sacrifices his daughter Iphigenia ; the king of Moab his eldest son, for the sins of his people. Whence, also, the choosing of Ramus, or the Branch, as the emblem of the deliverer ? Why, also, did the early priests, at nearly every altar, teach that a new influence was to visit the world, by which all things would be restored to their primal character, and man once more live in near communion with his God ? Or leaping centuries, and coming down to a brief period beyond the advent of the Messiah, did not the Chinese, beyond all question in entire ignorance of what the Roman Sibyls contained, and unfamiliar likewise with the teachings of the Greek philosophers, as well as perhaps the Jewish record, possessing the same longings and conscious of the same wants as their more distant brethren in the west, did they not send ambassadors even as far as Judea, to learn, if possible, whether he had yet come, whom they believed was to visit the world, and be at once its Saviour and Redeemer ? But whence came all this knowledge ? And is there not discernible in it an ever-present longing or hope, that the world, at some period of its history, would be visited by one whose mission would be the furnishing of humanity with an antidote for all its complaints, and an elevation of man to his true nature and true dignity ? Shadows or types of something these varied acts, beliefs and customs which mark the ages, certainly were. But of what ? Surely, as a belief in them as symbols makes them intelligible, and explains also their origin, continuance, and universality, can any other conclusion be so well taken, and the more so as they are looked upon with the golden light of the New Testament, than that they point, with various shades of clearness, to the one who in the fullness of time did appear, and by whose death there was accomplished a salvation, as full as it was free, and as perfect and acceptable, as it was divine and needed ?

It now remains to bring under survey some of the early es-

tablished religions of mankind, that it may be seen whether in them also the same general expectation be not discernible, and which, as has been observed, seems to underlie and crop out in those varied beliefs and acts, which, from all time, have distinguished the race. By established religions is simply meant those which have assumed (if any of the earlier religions can be said to have assumed) the form of something like a positive system. And let the investigation begin with the Persian religion; and, for the reason that while of all the early religions with which we can claim acquaintance, it is the most interesting and best developed; and stands out also as peculiarly prominent for its worthy conception of God, and lofty representation of a future life; at the same time it is found to illustrate much that is common in other nearly cotemporaneous beliefs. Nor should it be forgotten that the farther inquiries are carried back in the history of the world, or the earlier the religion, the purer are its teachings and the more divine its precepts; and how far this may confirm one's faith in the correctness of tradition, particularly in those matters which bear on man's eternal destiny, it is unnecessary to show.

Omitting, then, all discussion as to the sources whence the early Persian got his belief, (though it can not be shown that it was not formed out of the traditional accounts passed down from age to age) and commencing with the fact which underlies the need of an incarnation, the following evidently formed the staple of their creed:

That the present course of the world, in which there was a manifest conflict between the so called kingdoms of Ormuzd and Ahriman, and from whence came that strange mixture of physical and moral good and evil everywhere discoverable, is to be succeeded by a time of restoration; in which the god of evil is to be entirely destroyed, and men purified from sin are to enjoy a life on the glorified earth at once peaceful and happy. True, their religion embraces doctrinally more than this; but, in their history, this is the first allusion to the advent of one of more than human power and dignity, and whose special mission was not to reconcile the good and evil then existing, but to crush it wherever it did exist, and to

supplant it with grace and truth. Such, in few words, was their idea of what would be termed in our day a restorer or deliverer.

But what is here but dimly hinted at in general terms, their recognized instructors both teach and defend more definitely and positively. Zoroaster was to the Persians what Moses was to the Jews ; and his teachings, on a coming restorer are summed up in these few lines : "In the last time," says he, "there shall appear a man named the *man of the world*, (*oschanderbega*) whose mission shall be both to adorn the world and fill it with true religion and righteousness, . . before whom kings shall bow and do obedience, and all his undertakings shall prosper ; and while he will give the victory to true religion, dissensions shall cease and rest, and peace everywhere abound." And again : Of the three great prophets who are yet to appear, the greatest of the three will be the last, Sosiosh ; or, as he would have the world believe, the expected Saviour or Redeemer. Indeed, the whole germ or system of Persian theology was simply this : they ascribed to one whom they called Zeruane Akherene an existence the same in its essential features as Christians and Jews ascribe to Jehovah. He is the first, the primal cause or creator of all ; and so, being the first, there sprang from him Ormuzd and Ahriman. But, Ahriman unhappily falling into sin, all that came or were born of him were sinners. Hence, say they, there are two powers in the world, the disciples of Ormuzd and Ahriman, the one good, the other evil ; but the latter, Ahriman, is to reign, however, only till the advent of the promised Sosiosh, (or as others write it Serosch) appears ; and on his coming, he is to redeem all that have ever sinned ; and when they shall have obeyed the great and supreme ruler Ormuzd, then it is that they shall share with him the never ending glory and bliss of his kingdom. Now, that in this, the first religion that ever assumed anything of what we may term a philosophic form, there is made known the same expectation, or revealed the same longings which elsewhere we have discovered, and which succeeding ages disclosed more and more perfectly till the shadow was lost in the substance,

or until the expectation became an accomplished fact, certainly must be conceded. True, also, the Persian conception of a Restorer was gross and fragmentary ; but, though thus gross and imperfect, and feeble in this early faith, yet is there not pulsation, a throbbing, and a throbbing explicable only as it is regarded as the beginning of a life made fully manifest when the great Restorer, the Saviour of mankind came ; who, by a display of the most wonderful wisdom and power, won for himself, not simply the title of the Restorer of a single nation, but the Restorer of an entire world ?

Nor in the early religions of India is this same expectation any the less discernible, or distinctly alluded to. In truth, when it is remembered that it was by means of colonies which went out from Persia that India was primarily peopled, and, just as colonies have done since in their migrations, having carried with them their religion as well as their arts, it is not surprising that in the early religion of this people, also, the same facts which the Persian priests would have their people ever remember, should be alluded to, and embalmed in their faith. Place with some Brahma, or with others Buddha, at the head of the Indian faith, still in their system, that there was a Trinity ; and that the form in which it was revealed and expressed was a Brahma or Buddha—the Creator ; Vishnu, the preserver and benefactor ; and Siva the destroyer ; certainly can not be denied. Now, without entering into any analysis of their notions of this same Trinity, rather limiting remark simply to the subject specially under consideration, let it be remembered that this same Vishnu, the benefactor, was not as Brahma, eternal, self-existent ; rather an incarnation of Brahma, or as it was termed an *avatará* ; and the object of his thus becoming incarnate was not that Brahma through him might hold direct converse with man, but that man might be freed from his sorrows, and the race, as a race, inherit the hope for which it longed ; as appears from their own religious books. “Slayer of Madhou,” (or the evil spirit by whom, as they aver, mankind fell) “as thou lovest to draw out of affliction unhappy

mortals, we, who are plunged in misery pray to thee, august divinity be our refuge." "Speak," replies Vishnu, "What shall I do?" Having heard the words of the ineffable, all the gods answered, "There is a king who has embraced a life of severe penitence; he has even performed the sacrifice of an *açwa-medha*, because he is childless, and prays heaven to accord him a son; he is steadfast in piety, praised for his virtues, justice is his character, and truth his word. Acquiesce then, O Vishnu, in our demand, and consent to be born as his son." "Once incarnate, what would you have me do; and whence comes the terror that troubles you?" "Take upon you a human body, and draw out this thorn from the world, for none but you among the inhabitants of heaven can destroy this sinner, or the demon *Ravana*, the desolater of worlds, and the inspirer of terror among us." Now, far be it from us to compare the incarnation of Vishnu, or of any other oriental god, with the incarnation of Christ; for all the Eastern incarnations, by reason of their multiplicity alone, are in their idea necessarily pantheistic; and in them the human personality is destitute of reality, since it is assumed and set aside as a veil or mask with which the divinity for the time being was clothed. Besides, the incarnations of the Orientals were carried too far; for, as their own priests tell us, "they descended to evil, and participated in human corruption;" and just so soon as the object for which they became incarnate was accomplished, returning to the skies from whence they came, they would become re-absorbed into the great spirit of the universe. But, with all their imperfections, was there not, likewise, in them an exhibition of the same necessity? nay, so far as the people thought, in the incarnation of Vishnu, or even in later *avatarás*, a fulfillment of their expectations? Indeed, so soon as the so-called incarnation of Vishnu was proclaimed, many a good old Hindoo Simeon must have exclaimed, as was so truthfully said in the temple of old of the real incarnate One, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people." In truth the

Hindoo belief was simply this : Man is a sinner, and because of this his sinfulness, he has become separated from Brahma, the spirit of all spirits, the god of light and love, and in whose embrace it is, where perfect happiness alone can be found. But can not Brahma, or "I am that which is," the god of all, my creator, be reconciled to me ? Can I never return to the bosom from whence I sprang ? Am I not at last to be absorbed in the divine essence ? Yes, and how ? There shall be an avatará, and by the divine thus identifying himself with the human, a way shall be opened for the return demanded. And yet, let it not be forgotten, that the incarnations found in the Hindoo theology are worthless from their participation in human corruption ; and so being imperfect they lack that very link without which no incarnation, whatever be its end, can be either godlike or divine.

And what was true of the people of India, and of Indian theology, what they held and expected, was held and expected, likewise, by the Tartars and Thibetians ; and the same also did their books and priests teach. For India being settled by colonists from Tartary, it was but natural that the Indian faith should be as was the faith of those from whom they sprang. In fact, the religion of the early Indian was simply the old religion of the Tartars revamped. And, it is believed, also, that could the whole truth here be known, it would be found that just so far as these same colonists, by their corruptions, had departed from their early faith, or lost sight of it in its reconstruction in India, just so far became obscured the promises of a coming Deliverer, of whom they must have had some knowledge, as it was within her boundaries where a portion of the race was cradled. The Thibetian doctrine of hereditary incarnations was no new fact, nor the fancy of an unsettled mind. On the other hand, it was simply the final development of a previous existing belief ; an early faith re-clothed and adapted to the condition and temper of those who felt its need.

And to these Asiatic countries can be added China. As it was also settled by colonists brought up in Central Asia, it would be strange were there not found in their religion

some traces, if not direct allusions to, that same fact which the parent religion more or less directly taught. It is admitted that, in their system as laid down by Confucius, and explained by his admirer and defender, the great doctrines of God's personality, original sin, regeneration, and a future life as an individual life, are for the most part ignored; and that there is given to the worship of genii, demons and heroes, a prominence which justly characterizes them as idolaters. Yet the incarnation of Laosse, or Laotse, was regarded by many as identical with him who, under different aspects, is the "incomprehensible non-being." By many, this Laosse was viewed just as was Vishnu by the Brahmins. Man has not been forever debarred communion with his Creator, nor has the race been hopelessly abandoned. Since sin has been committed, sorrow is the inheritance of the world; yet there is such a thing as God speaking to men, and men speaking to God. Reconciliation to God is not an impossibility. The Great Being, though incomprehensible, is able to reveal himself; and in a way which, while it preserves his nature, will manifest also his sympathy for his creatures.

And what seems to have been true of the Orientals, seems likewise to have been true of the Occidentals. The only ray of light that came to the Aztec, as he sat musing in his wondrous temple, and of the American in the far North, as he pushed his canoe over some placid lake, or when weary from the chase, was the hope of the coming of a gracious spirit, whose mission would be to crush the bonds by which they were enslaved. Recent investigations into the earliest inhabitants of Mexico show beyond question, by reason of their similarity in arts and manners with both the Egyptians and Phœnicians, that they are of one common Hamite origin. And perhaps, of all the creeds of the early peoples, that of the Mexicans was the simplest. In form it resembled a patriarchal deism, though, at the same time, it contained some few varieties of symbolic representation. And hence, just as with the parent creed, so with them. In the contest of the two powers, good and evil, for the mastery, the chief god, whether known as Adoni-Siris, Horus, Hercule, Balden, Ormazes, was finally to plant his

heel upon the crushed head of the serpent of evil, whether known as Typhon, or Saturn, or Ahriman, and give the deliverance to the race for which it so eagerly longed. In fact, the Tultecan nation but re-echoed what the old Persian priests taught.

And so, were one to probe other religions, and seek for their electal wires, or ask for their life and the root of their power. Much is said of the force of the old Egyptian religion, and the hold it had upon the race. Was not the truth which lay at its foundation the like expectation of a Deliverer; even the descending of Osiris to hell to subdue the prince of evil, that humanity might be freed from the consequence of its guilt? The Egyptian theologian taught simply what tradition had preserved, and what also was so generally blended with the creeds of other nations. And the northern tribes of Europe, both Scandinavians and Teutones, under their description of the combats of Thor with Lokke, the seducer to sin, and his final victory over the being in whom death is personified, seemingly, at least, suggest the same expectation as their more distant descendants. And the old Goths, when they speak of "Sons of God," is it not a note of the same general anthem? Does not this one expectation, in truth, seem to be the teaching of every religion with which the world has been made familiar, and which has ever assumed any distinct or philosophic form? It may be said, indeed, that the one great doctrine which all the early religions seemed to teach, was this: that an incarnation was the fittest outcoming of the glory of God; and while it was thus the only method by which man could be redeemed, it was the only method, also, by which God could manifest his real nature and purpose. In short, behind or at the foundation of all the idolatries of the world, there lay the common, nay, universal belief, that it was through flesh, and that flesh the flesh of man, that God could be seen in his noblest character; since it was in that character that he was to be seen, when he should appear as the Redeemer of the race. Humanity as humanity has erred; but never, let it be proclaimed, as to the general

method by which salvation was to visit the world. It has held religion, as has been well said, and rightly said, "to be not a mere communication of ideas concerning the divinity, nor an exhibition of any of the peculiar powers of the divinity, rather as a solemn effort to reunite the broken bond between God and man, the offended and the sufferer; and to restore the latter to that blessedness for which he was originally fashioned." Religion's great end is the recovery of fallen man, through man; but that man is to be associated with and clothed with the power of God.

ART. VI.—MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION SERMONS,
ON "THE GREAT REVIVAL."

By REV. E. H. GILLETT, D. D.

THERE can be no question that for a long period antecedent to the Great Revival of the last century, the cause of vital piety in this land had been steadily declining. This was the case emphatically among the New England churches, and unquestionably the extravagances which in numerous instances characterized the revival, were due to the creation of popular feeling promoted by the security, formalism and worldliness which hedged about "the standing order."

The Revival came, almost in suddenness and startling effect like an earthquake shock. The doctrines of grace, and the necessity of that transformation which they were designed to produce, were presented by the revival preachers with such freshness and force, as to carry with them almost the weight of a new revelation. Yet they were simply the old doctrines of the New England fathers revived, and vindicating in the experience of men their divine power.

The process by which, for long years antecedent, they had, under the forms of dead orthodoxy, been bereft of their power, had not been unnoted. Aged ministers, with memories that carried them back to a brighter period, had uttered their lament, as they spelled out *Ichabod* on the walls of the

temple. With good reason they might charge, as they did, the sad change which they had survived to witness, to the corrupting or misleading influence of works like those which issued from the school of English theology, represented by men like Whiston, Hoadley, Emlyn, Pierce, or even Dr. Clarke. Read in this country by the young ministers, their latitudinarianism took effect, and its influence was disastrously felt.

In his Convention Sermon before the ministers of Massachusetts, in 1722, Cotton Mather takes occasion to remonstrate against the measure of neglect into which the vital doctrines of the gospel seemed to have fallen. His language—while some allowance may be made for his peculiarities, and the taste for censorship in which he indulged at times—indicates plainly enough a widely prevalent doctrinal degeneracy. He remarks :

“But while we are examining what subjects we have to be handled in our ministry, I must become an humble petitioner, and I blush to say so!—on the behalf of some truths, which all real and vital piety forever lives upon; and which yet, alas, are threatened with a sentence, at least, of banishment from the ministry in some churches which once they have been a beauty and a safety to. The truths which are to show us how sensible we should be of our natural impotence to turn and live unto God, and with what sentiments the withered hand is to be stretched out; the truths which are to show us how we are to plead the sacrifice and righteousness of our Saviour, that we may be pardoned and accepted with God; the truths which are to show us how we are to repair unto the cross of our Saviour, that our indwelling sin may be mortified; the truths which are to show us how we are to live by the faith of the Son of God, and from our union with him as the head of his people; and how we are to die unto creatures, in conformity to the death of our Saviour; the truths wherein the mystery of Christ is most contained; wherein the spirit of the gospel is most conspicuous, and by which the power of godliness is most enkindled and preserved. My friends, what have these truths done to deserve an excommunication from the house of our God? Or are we fond of seeing an *Ichabod* upon our ministry? Verily, if we let these truths go, the glorious God himself will be gone; yea, be gone far from a forsaken sanctuary.

It is to be suspected that the loss of these glorious truths, if they must be lost, will be very much owing to an overgreat value for such books as have been very much in vogue among us; books, whereof it may be complained, *Nomen Christi non est ibi*, and, the religion of a regenerate mind is not there to be met withal; books, which if our young men will read, they ought also to read the just castigations which Dr. Edwards, in his *Preacher*, has bestowed upon them. Upon this occasion, you will forgive me if I do not suppress the

words which a venomous writer of some things that he calls *Laconics*, has, with what aim I know not, lately published. The Presbyterian divines have been observed of late (says the man) to preach after the manner of the Church of England men. But without setting up for a prophet (says he) I dare venture to affirm that this will be their ruin. And now I dare venture to affirm that such a prophecy, from such a *Balaam*, is what some in the world have cause to think upon."

No one can read the sermons of Edwards, Tennent or Whitefield, without feeling that in them Cotton Mather would have recognized champions of these vital truths in the behalf of which he put forth his earnest plea. But during the interval between the Convention Sermon of 1722, and the commencement of the Great Revival—an interval of nearly 20 years—the process of degeneracy was still going forward; Mather's remonstrance had not arrested it.

But how was the prevalent lethargy to be broken up? How were the vital doctrines of the gospel to regain ascendancy? It was only to be by a religious convulsion, unprecedented in the history of the country, and, since that day, paralleled only, if paralleled at all, by the Kentucky Revival of the last century. As might have been expected, the foundations of the ecclesiastical deep were broken up. Precedents of apostolical zeal were studied. The itineracy of Whitefield and others was regarded as commendable, and worthy of imitation. Fanatical fervors were justified by his words or example. Men like Davenport, Allen and Crosswell, were swept away on the tide of their own enthusiasm. Laymen hastened to assume the office of "prophets," and found not a few to join them in the denunciation of an unconverted ministry. This, indeed, was a favorite theme. Whitefield introduced it, and others took it up. But it served only to alienate and exasperate. Pastors, as faithful as Fish of Stonington, became odious to a large part of their congregations. Separations, often utterly unwarranted, took place from established churches. The new congregations, exulting in their spiritual emancipation, indulged in fanatic excesses, reviled ministers faithful and devoted, ran off themselves into antinomianism and boisterous extravagance, eager still for the indulgence of an enthusiasm which disgusted others while it led themselves astray.

Yet this excess, and the denunciations that accompanied it, were provoked by the very prevalent notion that an unconverted man might be a useful minister. It was regarded by many as an impertinence to insist that only those who had experienced the renewing power of the gospel should preach it. The Rev. Wm. Williams, in his Convention Sermon of 1726, seems almost disposed to ask pardon for being so bold as, by way of advice, to suggest the importance of ministers knowing by experience the power of renewing grace. The need of such advice, implied in his language, speaks for itself. He says :

"And if I might take the liberty to offer a word of advice to the candidates for the ministry, it should be this : That upon the most mature deliberation, you would make choice of the Lord Jesus Christ as your Saviour and Lord. Set wide open the everlasting door of your souls that the King of Glory may come in ; that the advancement of his honor and kingdom, truth and interests may lie near your hearts, and may be the great things for which you devote yourselves to his service. And to this end get thoroughly acquainted with the nature, excellency and necessity of his kingdom, and how much your safety and the safety of those you shall preach to is involved in a severe subjection to and dependence upon Christ, and living according to the laws of his kingdom."

It must be obvious that the excesses which attended the progress of the revival were chargeable, not to the revival itself, so much as to the state of things which had preceded it. When the awakening came, men who for the first time felt the power of evangelical truth, regarded with surprise and indignation the state of things which had prevailed around them. They revolted at the character of the preaching to which they had been accustomed, and were still expected to listen, and many were thus prepared to regard with a blind admiration the course and utterances of those over-zealous leaders who gave only louder and more emphatic expression to what they had felt themselves.

Conscious of the gross injustice to which they were subjected by the denunciations of men carried away by their own enthusiasm, not a few of the ministers felt constrained to protest against their course. It must have been the deep sense of aggravated wrong that led to such enactments as those which, in 1742, for the first time disgraced the statute book of the colony of Connecticut, and drew upon them the criti-

cism of such a cool conservative as Dr. Chauncy. His "Seasonable Thoughts," published in 1743, subjected him to new reproach as an enemy of the revival, and yet it is largely made up from reliable testimony, and citations from divines as evangelical as John Owen or Richard Baxter.

If we turn to the Convention Sermons preached at Boston, immediately following the outbreak of the Revival, we shall learn the views entertained of certain features of it by representative clergymen of the day. Nearly all are cautious about condemning it absolutely, and yet it is quite evident that in the opinion of some it was a damage and a disgrace to the Christian cause.

The Convention Sermon of 1742 was preached by Israel Loring, for many years pastor of the church at Sudbury. In the course of it, he took occasion to allude to those "who have in one part of the land and another set up for teachers and exhorters of the people." On this subject he remarks :

"As for any outward call to authorize them to this work, this is what they can't pretend to. They never were regularly introduced into this, were never selected thereunto by that order that God appointed in his church. And as for an inward call enabling them to teach and exhort, it may justly be feared that they are utterly destitute of it—at least that the greatest part of them are so. Such as set up to be teachers and exhorters of others, should doubtless be men of superior understanding themselves; but are the persons I am now speaking of such? How should they come to an eminency of knowledge in divine things? Knowledge in the liberal arts and original tongues is an handmaid to divinity and a great help to attain it; but this our exhorters are destitute of. Christ's ministers get their knowledge in a course of hard study, with the blessing of Christ upon their endeavors; but the teachers that I am speaking of, spring up as it were in the night, and have very little time for the gaining of divine knowledge in an ordinary way. Have they the knowledge of divine truths by inspiration? The Apostles had so; their learning was not acquired, but infused; but these extraordinary and miraculous gifts being long since ceased, it is a vanity for any now to pretend unto them.

May we not conclude then that the exhorters of the present day, are utterly unqualified for the work which they have so temerarily undertaken, and consequently that Jesus Christ never called them to it, and that he will never assist them in it, nor reward them for it. Indeed, persons will cry out and fall down at the preaching of these sort of men, as well as at the preaching of some others; but this with me is so far from being a seal of their divine mission, that this very thing among others makes me very suspicious that, in the strange bodily emotions, screamings, roaring, and falling down of many persons, religion is very little, if any thing, concerned."

The Convention Sermon of 1743 was preached by Nathaniel Appleton, from 1717 till his death in 1784—a period of nearly 67 years—pastor of the church at Cambridge, and during that time a fellow of Harvard College. Two years before, he had preached a sermon entitled “God and not ministers to have the glory of all success given to the preached Gospel.” The title of itself indicates its scope, and bespeaks the jealousy which many felt lest such instruments of the Revival as Whitefield and Tennent should seem to usurp to themselves the credit of what was due only to a divine power.

In his Convention Sermon, he indulges in a similar strain, while vindicating the peculiar doctrines of the gospel, humiliating to human pride :

“Thus every doctrine that gives the least indulgence to *men's lusts*, that conveys at sin of any kind, or degree; or that tends in the least to take off the sense men have of the evil of sin, though it should never be with such plausible pretences of advancing the merits and righteousness of Christ, or the richness and freeness of divine grace, must be declared against. So on the other hand, any doctrine that leads us away from Christ, from our dependence upon him, or a sense of our obligation to him, or that leads us to a *self-confidence—self-boasting*; or that takes away any of the glory that belongs to the Father, Son, or Holy Spirit, in the grand affair of our redemption, is a corrupt doctrine, and to be openly opposed, if we would keep the world from being corrupted with it.”

It is not a little significant that one, who, for more than half a century filled the pulpit at Cambridge, where the ministers of Massachusetts were trained, should have remarked in this connection :

“And although the reducing Christianity to a system, is upon many accounts very useful; yet by endeavoring to make every thing quadrate with a particular scheme, we shall, without care and caution, darken rather than enlighten some Christian doctrines.”

But it is on the objectionable measures adopted in connection with the Revival, that Dr. Appleton dilates more freely. He remarks :

“And here I can not but think there are many things at this day that have a plausible appearance at first view, and yet are of a dangerous tendency, which I think ministers, if they would be a light to their people, should instruct and warn them about, with the meekness and gentleness of Christ.

As particularly, ministers *leaving* their own particular charges, and going from place to place without any regular call or desire, intruding themselves into other men's parishes; whereby they are in danger of exciting and grati-

fyng their own pride, stirring up itching ears in the people, and leading them away from their love and esteem of their own faithful ministers.

So again, ministers setting up to preach, without premeditation and study, looks plausible to the weak and ignorant, but is of dangerous tendency.

Again, encouraging *illiterate persons* publicly to exhort, which by speaking freely and boldly upon some points, lead the people to think they have more of the Spirit of God than ministers; by which means such novices are in danger of being lifted up with pride themselves; and the end of it with respect to the people, if it should go on, would be ignorance and error, for many of the gross errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome have come in at the door of ignorance."

The following passage is quite significant, as indicating Dr. Appleton's views of the dangers likely to arise from admitting into the ministry men unqualified for it by education or by grace. By implication it admits that errors on the subject had been prevalent :

"We should put none into the ministry but what we have reason to hope and trust have so much *light* and knowledge as that they are able to teach others, and instruct them in all the doctrines and duties of Christianity; and so much *salt* or grace in themselves that they will, by their doctrine, and by their example, recommend religion to others, and be a likely means to encourage others in the ways of God. I wont pretend to prescribe certain rules for ministers to go by in this matter; whether by a particular formal examination, or by observation; but this I say, that ministers should admit none into holy orders, but such as they have a satisfaction in their own minds about, that they will in a good measure answer as *light* to the world, and *salt* to the earth."

It was at this date that Dr. Chauncy put forth his "Seasonable Thoughts." The publication of this work was not needed to define his position. That, indeed, was sufficiently well known, for on public occasions he had already given emphatic expression to his sentiments. But the choice of him, in these circumstances, to deliver the Annual Convention Sermon of 1744, indicates the confidence with which he was regarded by the great mass of his brethren, and their sympathy with him in many of his views.

That this was his own opinion is shown by the language which he employs in a letter addressed to his kinsman, Rev. Nathaniel Chauncy, of Durham, Conn. In this he remarks : "As I have spoken freely, and printed my sentiments as far as was proper, upon the religious state of affairs among us, 'tis a satisfaction for me to think that I was so unanimously

chosen by the body of the clergy in this province, to preach a Convention Sermon to them ; which I should not have mentioned, only that by this you may argue the thoughts of the ministry of this government about the present work."

In this Convention Sermon he gives his view of the Revival :

"I doubt not saving impressions have been made upon some who were before thoughtless ; and good Christians, a good number of them, have, I believe, been quickened to greater care and diligence in the business of salvation. But I can not say that the good has been more than a balance for the last (evil ?) Great disorders and irregularities have been almost general, and I know no place where there has been this *religious commotion*, but it has been accompanied with a very unchristian spirit of captiousness, a readiness to think well of all in one particular way of thinking and talking, to the condemning of everybody else. *Passion* seems to take the place too much in the room of reason ; visions and trances have become common ; and, I fear in a multitude of cases, an *over-heated* imagination is taken for the influence of the *divine spirit*. If we have reason to *sing of mercy*, I think we have equal reason to sing of judgment. The country was never in a more critical state, and how things will finally turn out, God only knows. The *standing ministers* of the land are evidently struck at, and so are the colleges ; and, if itinerant ministers and lay exhorters are not discountenanced, I dread to think of the consequences. I am afraid that ministers are not so faithful as they should be in testifying against these things, which they can't but own are disorderly."

It is not surprising that when the writer of this letter was chosen to preach the Convention Sermon he should direct public attention to these matters of which he complains ; undoubtedly it was expected of him, and he was chosen mainly with this in view. After quoting Richard Baxter's views of the Separates and fanatics of his day, Dr. Chauncy proceeds as follows :

"I will not go about to draw a parallel between the late times in this land, and those referred to by this learned writer ; but thus much I may be allowed to say, that the *body of the ministers* were never treated with more insult and contempt than by multitudes, and of those too, who once esteemed them the glory of New England ; nor were they ever more hardly censured than by some of their *own order*, from whom they might have expected better things. It will not be denied that they have had all manner of evil spoken against them, and this, in the face of crowded auditories. And are there not numbers, in many places, who have learned from their admired teachers to give them no better names than *Pharisees, blind leaders of the blind, opposers of CHRIST* and what not ? and han't this contempt been thrown upon as valuable ministers as the Lord Jesus Christ has in the country, of as known *soundness in the faith*, and as *exemplary a walk* in conformity to the precepts of the Gospel ?"

Another of what he regarded as the evils of the time, is

thus adverted to. Speaking of the course pursued by some ministers, he says :

"I shall add here, they should be particularly careful not to mingle their own passions and prejudices with their prayers: Nor should they oblige a whole assembly to be of their mind, in matters of doubtful disputation, or else come to an undesired pause in their devotions. Ministers, when praying in public, are to be considered as the mouth of the congregation; and as such, there is a manifest impropriety in the going into the use of such petitions, or thanksgivings, as a great part of the congregation can't, in faith, join with them in offering up to God. I the rather mention this, because it may have been too much a practice, among some ministers, more especially in the late times, to express themselves in language they could not but know, if they allowed themselves to think, a considerable number of those they were praying with could not give their hearty Amen to."

On the subject of preaching he remarks :

"Further, ministers, in their preaching should apply to the *understandings* of their hearers, and not lay out all their endeavors to work on their *passions*. Not that it is improper to speak to the *affections*, for they have their use in religion, and it may serve a great many good purposes to excite and warn them. But then it ought to be remembered, the *understanding* is the leading power in man, and ought, as such, in the first place, to be applied to. To be sure, the understanding ought not to be neglected."

It is quite a noticeable fact that Dr. Chauncy refers also to the same evil, in connection with the introduction of candidates to the ministry, to which Mr. Williams and Dr. Appleton had adverted, thus incidentally confirming the correctness of the widely prevalent impression that not a few of the ministers of the land were really unconverted. His sagacity enabled him to discern that one of the causes, or at least occasions, of the abuse of the clergy by the more zealous friends of the Revival, was to be found in their own faults and deficiencies. He remarks toward the conclusion of his discourse :

"How careful should ministers be to *introduce none in to the sacred office* who are like to be despised? We are the persons to whom it belongs, according to the appointment of Jesus Christ, to separate men to the work of the ministry. And we ought to be cautious on whom we lay hands for this purpose. We should not suddenly do it in an affair of such importance; nor indeed at all, till first satisfied that the qualifications of the person are such that there is no prospect of their falling into contempt. And in order to this, there should be some trial of them before they are intrusted with the care of souls. It might be best, if we countenanced none in *preaching* till they had first been *examined*. I know it has been a long custom for *young men* to go into the

pulpit when they themselves think fit to do so. Perhaps the churches in this land are the only ones who take so little care in a matter of such consequence to the interest of the kingdom of Christ. 'Tis high time it was rectified. And if, as a means to so good an end, ministers would be peremptory in refusing their pulpits to all candidates, till they had passed their trials before proper judges, it might be of singular service."

This language, stating a sad fact confirmed by other testimony, is very significant when taken in connection with the excesses that attended and followed the Revival. "It has been a long custom for young men to go into the pulpit when they themselves think fit to do so." Such is the testimony of Dr. Chauncy, and it is well sustained.

An Edinburgh reviewer, several years since, in a critique upon Lathbury's *History of the Church of England during the Commonwealth Period*, very ably and effectually retorted the charge of the latter that the Puritans occasioned all the sects and violence that marked the period following the execution of Charles I. He showed that the previous intolerance toward Non-Conformists, and the cruelties practised upon men like Leighton, Prynne and Bostwick, provoked the terrible reaction that followed, and that Laud and his allies were the responsible authors, not only of the convulsions amid which they fell, but of whatever violence overtook the adherents of Episcopacy. The root of the evil ran back to a preceding generation.

So it has been repeatedly in the history of nations and of churches. So it was in the Great Revival of 1740-1. There were causes in existence which provoked the reaction. Sagacious men anticipated mischief from them. Honest and candid observers subsequently traced the mischief to its source. The seeds of evil may outsleep the winter and never germinate. No suspicion may be excited of the harvest to which they will ripen. But the spring-time brings them up from the clods, and under the very warmth of revived religious emotion they develop their real nature. There are some chapters of history that are rich in lessons of Providential retribution.

ART. VII.—THE DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER
IN THE RECENT LUTHERAN THEOLOGY.

By DR. AUGUST THOLUCK, Professor in the University of Halle, Prussia.*

THOUGH the Lutheran opposition to the United Church, (of Prussia) and to the doctrines of the Reformed or Calvinistic Church, is now assuming wider dimensions, and thus seems to indicate that the antagonism between the two churches is becoming more sharp, especially upon their doctrinal differences, yet even here an approximation to greater unity may be seen in the recent discussions. The strict Lutheran type of theology, in its ancient form, as found from Luther to Gerhard and Quenstedt, and down even to Reinhard, is, in fact, *no longer held* by the Lutheran divines of the present day—excepting Philippi, whose “Dogmatics” is not yet completed.

The present Lutheran divines feel the necessity of modifying their doctrinal statements on the contested points, though not without much hesitation and doubt; and this leads to several not unimportant consequences.

The primitive Lutheran doctrine of the Presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, as stated by Luther in the Confession of 1528, was, that in virtue of the so-called *communicatio idiomatum* [i. e. the communication of the properties of the divine nature of Christ to his human nature], the human nature of Christ, personally united with the divine nature, and therewith impenetrated, was everywhere present in a supernatural manner, yet not as space-filling—and consequently was present in the Lord's Supper. This basis of the Lutheran doctrine on this point, of which we have a shy echo in Reinhard's notion, that the Presence of Christ in the eucharist is not to be extended “beyond our ball of earth,” that is, “no further than the power of the sun,”—has been virtually abandoned, since Dr. Thomasius, of Erlangen, brought into question the theory of the *communicatio idiomatum*, even in the Christology.† Dr. Chr. Ernst Luthardt, of Leipsick, in

* Translated by Prof. HENRY B. SMITH, from the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1869.

† [G. Thomasius, *Christi Person und Werk*, 3 The. (in 4 vols). Erlangen, 1853-61. Second edition, 1866. An able and comprehensive work.]

his *Compendium der Dogmatic* [second ed. 1866], when speaking of "modern" Lutheran theology, does not even make mention of the Presence of Christ in the old Lutheran sense.

The two chief Lutheran theologians of Erlangen, Hofmann and Thomasius, think that they can hold fast "the Lutheran dogma" without maintaining its older form. After the *communicatio idiomatum* is given up, how can it be held that the body of Christ, sitting at the first Supper with the first disciples, and perceived by their bodily senses, could have been imparted to them, and to all subsequent communicants? Hofmann, in his *Schriftbeweis* [*Scriptural Proof of the Doctrines*], vol. 2, p. 215, 2d ed. says: "What he gives to them [i. e. to the disciples at the first Supper] is *his body as then present*, so far as it is identical with that which He will have after his resurrection, but not the former as distinguished from the latter; he does not give them his body, as now different from his glorious body of the resurrection, but in its identity with that body."* Dr. Hofmann has already once taken occasion to complain of a misunderstanding of the view here presented. With the risk of his saying the same thing again—the responsibility for which will assuredly not be imputed to the *interpreter* of his words—we must say, that, with the best intent, we can not explain the above passage as meaning anything but this—that "in the then present body [of our Lord] his glorified body was *potentially* present." Very well; if his glorified body was not *actually*, but only *potentially* present, and if he gave to his disciples, as is expressly said, "his body as it then was," how could this be actually divided among them?

I confess that, as regards the Lutheran doctrine, I would much rather receive instruction from the clear and simple piety of Thomasius. But on the above point I do not find

* [The German here reads: "Was er ihnen giebt, ist *seine jetzige Leiblichkeit*, sofern sie dieselbe ist mit der, welche er nach seiner Auferstehung haben wird, nicht die von letzterer verschiedene, nicht in dieser jetzigen Andersartigkeit gibt er sie dar, sondern in ihrer Dieselbigkeit mit der nachmals verkörperten." The passage is difficult, if not obscure, in the original; and, hence, our version may be pardoned.]

in him the desired explanation.* He cites the following passage from Luther, as expressing the view of Hofmann: "We do not say that the body of Christ is in the Eucharist, *in the same way and form* in which it was sacrificed for us, but that it is the same body which was given for us, not in the same *shape* or mode, but in the same *essence* and nature." Thomasius, however, instead of trying to make the impartation of the material body more intelligible by referring to its identity with the glorified body, contents himself at this point with citing another saying of Luther. "Yet," he adds, "Luther does not lay any special weight upon the glorification of the body; *the flesh of the Lord is spiritual in and of itself, because it is born of the Holy Ghost*; 'for,' says Luther, 'all is and is called spiritual, and belongs to the Holy Spirit, which comes from the Holy Ghost, however corporeal, external and visible it may in any way be.'" But can Thomasius explain in any other than a *docetic* sense this remark of Luther thus thrown out without any further limitation?

This Erlangen divine makes on other points a good impression by the sound sense and piety with which he is wont to go right back to the practical and fundamental views of Luther, without troubling himself so much about the subtleties of the old Lutheran theologians. And here, too, it seems as if he would have done better, had he like Luther confessed outright, "I will in no wise deny that God's omnipotence may make a body to be present in many places at the same time, and that too after a *corporeal and comprehensible* manner."† Luther held with such iron firmness to the *what* (the fact of the Presence), that he was very little troubled about the *how* (the mode); and even the scholastic distinctions as to a three-fold mode of Presence were accepted by him only *utiliter*, because they came just in his way.

Hofmann, as well as Thomasius, comes back in the end to a miracle wrought by omnipotence. The former declares without reserve (*Schriftbeweis*, ii, 2, p. 215): "This self-communication of the Lord is a *miracle*, which like each of

* Thomasius, *Christi Person*, etc. Bd. iii, 2, p. 89; comp. p. 62.

† Luther, *Bekennntnis vom Abendmahl*, in Walch, Bd. xx, p. 1197.

his miracles is effective in those to whom it is manifested, whether they believe it happens or not." So too, Thomasius (iii, 2, p. 61): "We are to conceive of this self-communication of the Lord as a *miracle*; but a miracle from its very nature lies outside of the sphere of intelligible possibility, or of natural comprehensibility, for it is a kind of immediate, omnipotent energy." But are we not compelled by such an off-hand decision to the earnest inquiry, whether the emphatic word *miracle* is here in place? Luthardt defines a miracle as the "abolition [or suspension] of the natural connection of things effected by the supernatural causality of God working upon nature,"—a definition which involves no logical contradiction. But in the present case the question is, whether God can by his omnipotence abolish a *logical contradiction*; that is, this contradiction, viz., that a material, sensible body can, without division or self-destruction, be imparted to something else, and even to what is spiritual; and, further, whether a material body can have a *ubiquitas respectiva*, if not also a *ubiquitas absoluta*. The old divines, as Luthardt remarks, defended themselves against the charge of such a logical contradiction (which they, too, held to be impossible, since logical truth is not empirical, but eternal), by taking the position, that here the question is not about a material and human body, but about a divine-human body:* but how does this stand with the recent divines who have given up this weapon of defense at the same time with the dogma of the *communicatio idiomatum*?

Besides, we have here to do, not only with a logical contradiction, but with a contradiction to the *Scriptures*. Can what Kahnis has lately said in his *Dogmatik* (i, 422) be gained, that—"in all the passages we have now considered, what is said refers, not to the *glorified*, but to the broken, the *given*, that is, the sacrificed body?" If this can not be denied, what need is there of a miracle to explain the statements? All these difficulties, and the extravagant theories by which their solution is attempted—are they not merely the consequence of Luther's interpretation of the *τουτό ἐστιν*,

* See e. g. Meisner in his *Philosophía Sobria*.

entangled in the scholastic tradition? And, though a hundred more replies were made to him from Scripture and reason, he always kept saying: "*It depends on the very word: it is enough to have the word: as the words read so will I hold.*" But now-a-days it is just Luther's interpretation of the words which is doubted by the upholders of the Lutheran dogma.

Before we speak more particularly of this exegetical contradiction to Luther among the latest Lutheran interpreters and divines, we have still to mention another expedient used to get round the old Lutheran doctrine of the Presence in the Lord's Supper.

It is this—that the *glorified body* of Christ, as it was after the resurrection, is substituted for the divine-human body, (as determined by the theory of the *communicatio idiomatum*); and, in order to make use of this doctrine of the glorified body in respect to what occurred before Christ's resurrection, it is assumed, on the basis of the transfiguration on the mount, that Christ was invested with it even before his death; and this leads, further, to the hypothesis of a gradual process of glorification, by which, even during our Saviour's earthly life, the transient was swallowed up in the eternal. This is the view of Sartorius, in which he is followed by Olshausen, and by Kahnis in his work on the *Lord's Supper*. Sartorius in his *Meditations on the Presence of the Glorified Body and Blood in the Eucharist* expresses himself in the most unqualified form: * "Even if Christ had not expressly referred to his previous glorification, the very words of the institution of the Supper would compel us to refer them to his body in a glorified state, because he could not say of his unglorified, corporeal frame, 'Take, eat, this is my body.' Such an eating can neither be conceived in the actual (Caper-naitic) sense, as the literal eating (tearing asunder) of the flesh of Christ; nor yet in a symbolical sense, for even in this sense it would be monstrous to represent in figure the natural, compact body, and then to eat this *in effigie* as a memorial,

* *Meditationen über die Gegenwart, etc.* 1855, p. 149.

while its emblematic significancy would rather demand that it should be preserved."

Since the time of Reinhard, the genuine sense of the old dogma of ubiquity has been so far forgotten, that this other doctrine of the *glorified* body of Christ after the resurrection was almost universally substituted for it, as for example by Weisse in his work on the *Christology of Luther* (p. 33); but here Thomasius (ubi supra, ii, p. 229) is more authentic in saying: "This does not stand in Luther himself. For, although he always starts from the idea of Christ's present state of glory, he still refers what he says about this at once to his state in this earthly life." And, in fact, can we, without manifest contradiction with the doctrine of the Scriptures, speak of a glorification of Christ's body *before his death*? In the glorified body must not the mortal be swallowed up of the immortal, the weak by the mighty, the natural body by the spiritual body? (see 1 Cor. xv, 42-44, 2 Cor. v, 4). The latest essays, too, by Hamberger and Schöberlain, on the *Glorification of the Body*,* lead to the idea of a material body escaping its limitations and becoming a body of light (*Lichtleib*). And since, being such a body of light, it can no longer be subjected to the limitations of matter (e. g. the law of gravitation), must not the life of Christ upon the earth become a continuous miracle? Feeling the contradiction of this hypothesis with Scripture and reason, the latest Lutheran exegetes and theologians have not remained contented with it, but have rather adopted a view already thrown out by Sartorius, although in a very obscure and inconsistent form.†

The first Lord's Supper, it is said, had only a *prophetic testamentary character*, and was but the symbolical pledge of the future impartation of the Saviour's glorified body which was to take place after his death. This theory is specially advocated by Stier in his work on *The Last Words of the Lord*; and it is also taught by many representatives of Lutheran orthodoxy in the chairs of Berlin, Leipsick and other Universities: so that it threatens to set aside all the others.

* In the *Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie*, Bde. vi, vii.

† *Dorpater Beiträge*, Bd. i, p. 332.

We will not now attempt to show how contemptuously Luther would have treated it, and how far he would have been from acknowledging it as his own child. Enough, that no one of the earlier Lutheran divines ever had any doubt that there was no difference to be made between the first Lord's Supper and the subsequent celebrations. See Gerhard, *Loci*, X, p. 169 : "Quod vero in prima coena quæ est regula forma, et exemplar reliquarum omnium manducandum et bibendum Christus dedit apostolis, illud vero hodie in eucharistiæ administratione manducatur et bibitur vi ordinationis institutionis et mandati : hoc facite." But as the majority of the present Lutheran divines are in earnest in making the Scriptures the only rule of faith (sola regula et norma *Scriptura Sacra*), we will pass over this contradiction with their own ecclesiastical tradition, and only inquire as to the admissibility of this last hypothesis in itself considered. The prophets are, indeed, sometimes accustomed to make their proclamation of future events more plastic, as it were present to the sight, by means of symbolical actions ; as, in the New Testament, the prophet Agabus in respect to the imprisonment of Paul (Acts, ch. xxi). But here, too, that which the action signifies is added in the future tense, verse 11 : "Thus saith the Holy Ghost, So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that owneth this girdle, and shall deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles." Here, according to the nature of the case, that which is declared about the future is in the future tense, and so, too, if the words of the institution of the Supper are to be understood only prophetically with the 'Take, eat' (λάβετε φάγετε), should there not also be connected some such phrase as, 'Ye shall receive my body' (λήψεσθε γὰρ τὸ σῶμα μου)? It is true that Stier can here appeal to one passage in which it seems as if the aorist imperative, λάβετε, is actually used in the sense of a prophetic promise, that is, John xx, 22 : "And when he had said this he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye (λάβετε) the Holy Ghost." The necessity of such a purely prophetic interpretation might also seem to result from what is said in another passage, John vii, 39 : "But thus spake he of the

Spirit which they that believe on him should receive (ἐμελλον λαμβάνειν): for the Holy Ghost was not yet given because that Jesus was not yet glorified"—that is, if this excludes all working of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples before the glorification of Christ. Although this has been the view of a large number of interpreters, yet the present exegesis has almost universally come to the conclusion that the imperative, λάβετε, can be understood only of a relative giving of the Spirit then actually enjoyed—what Bengel calls an *arrha* Pentecostes. (See, especially, Brückner on the passage.) And thus this attempt to get the Lutheran sense out of the words of institution is also in vain. But whether it will hold good or not, does not this lack of unity among Lutheran exegeses upon the cardinal point of their polemics force upon us the question, whether the hard and unbrotherly position of these strict symbolical theologians can be justified towards those who, with all honest readiness to bow implicitly to the words of the Bible, are yet unable to find a Scriptural ground for the Lutheran understanding of the words in which this sacrament was instituted; and who are therefore compelled to find the explanation of Luther's urgency about the *τοῦτό ἐστιν* in the fact that he was warped by a lingering reverence for the traditional doctrine of transubstantiation? The full-blooded Lutheran orthodoxy is wont to stand out against the so-called "mediating theologians," as if the latter were but pilgrims and strangers. And who are meant by this? According to the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* and to the strict Lutherans, all those believers who are not exclusively "Confessional Lutherans," nor Reformed. But who can not be called a complete Lutheran in the sense of the Confession—now that a Hofmann has given up the doctrine of the atonement as taught in the symbols, and a Thomasius has abandoned the *communicatio idiomatum*, and a Luthardt the verbal inspiration, and a Kahnis the doctrine of the Trinity and of the Lord's Supper, in the ecclesiastical sense? Let us hear what is said by a Lutheran divine who is certainly dyed of a fast color: * "Every body makes his own special Concordat with

* Munkel in the *Zeitblatt für die Lutherische Kirche*, 1868.

the Confession, to which Concordat alone he ascribes rule and right, and in consequence of which now a little and now much of this Confession must be sacrificed, in order that it may be valid and binding. And so we have all sorts of *Lutherites* [*Lüthertümer*], who are agreed in this, that they all stand on the basis of the Confession, but who differ in this, that they map out this basis sometimes smaller and sometimes broader." Even the Leipsick Lutheran Conference of 1867 could find consolation only in this,—“that, despite all *dissent in doctrine*, an *ecclesiastical consensus* has yet taken shape, represented by the *Pastorate*.”

Under the circumstances, would that the venerable representatives of the Lutheran theology might openly concede, that theological science has a *development*, and that one who lives in the nineteenth century can no longer have just the theology of the seventeenth; so that, between them and the so-called “mediating divines” there can not be as to *scientific theology* any specific difference, but only one of degree. On the other hand, there *is* such a difference in the *ecclesiastical* faith and confession, determined by education, providential training and religious peculiarities. For, though not wholly in Luther’s sense, yet in a certain sense, it holds good what Luther said to Zwingli: “You have another spirit:” that is, the Lutherans have a reverential dependence upon ecclesiastical tradition, the Reformed upon the abstract principle of the Scriptures as the only rule of faith. What we mean to say is exactly met by a reply of Pressensé at an ecclesiastical convention to some Lutheran theologians who told him that they thought that the later Protestant theology of France would have done better if at the beginning it had attached itself to the great and older divines of the Calvinistic church: “*c’est vrai, nous autres Français nous aimons toujours faire tabula rasa.*” Yet this confessional difference is now no longer what it was of old. Even in the period when both Confessions were ecclesiastically contrasted and separate, they had a mutual influence, as Munkel concedes. “Nowhere,” he says, “has the real Lutheranism of the old style been able to maintain its superiority soundly and purely. In respect

to doctrine and church government, this communion has on the whole been *changed*; it has received subtle poison which betrays its foreign origin." Although, then, the new and quickened interest in the treasures and possessions of the old Lutheran Church may have contributed in a large degree to this revived zeal for a still wider separation for the Calvinists; yet, even here, the stronger impulse has been found in the old Lutheran longing, which we also share, for a firmer ecclesiastical organization in doctrine, worship and piety. And, doubtless, many might be found, and among the most zealous too, who would not take it hard to give up even their chief doctrinal peculiarity, the Lutheran dogma of the Lord's Supper, if they did not feel constrained to retain it by the bonds of ecclesiastical consistency.

ART. VIII.—THE TEMPTATION OF JESUS IN THE WILDERNESS.*

By J. J. VAN OOSTERZEE, D.D., Prof. of Theology in University of Utrecht.

Translated from the Dutch by Rev. J. P. WESTERVELT.

WE approach now one of the most mysterious portions of the evangelical history. If there ever could be pages which we should wish to leave sealed, because a glance at the fruitless efforts of so many makes us despair of unriddling them, it would undoubtedly be those which contain the history of Jesus' temptation in the wilderness. We do not begin its contemplation without doubting our ability to give a perfectly satisfactory explanation; we do not return from its contemplation without feeling, next to an exalted respect for the Lord, the limited nature of our views. Let the voice of God, which we heard at the Jordan, not be forgotten by us, when we resort in spirit to the wilderness of temptation. So will our faith not fail, even where our understanding loses itself in enigmas.

* Besides the writers of *Jesus' Life* already cited, and those which are enumerated by Hase, *L. J.* s. 87 in his treatment of the history of the temptation, compare D. Nieuwhoff, *De verzoeking in de woestijn*, Rott. 1837, aangevuld in de Godg. Bijdr. 1840, 1-44. Moreover an essay of L. Könneman in *Rudolb. u. Guer. Zeitschrift für luth. Theol.* 1850. IV. . . . As models of practical homiletic treatment the three *Sermons* of A. Monod, *Jesus tenté au desert*, Paris, 1854, deserve to be celebrated.

Most safely do we here also begin with a comparative view of the different narratives. The synoptic Evangelists give the history of the temptation with more or less copiousness, and a glance at their various contents enables us clearly to perceive that they, independently of each other, have each recorded those particulars which from oral tradition came to their knowledge. Mark is here very brief, and besides the single stroke, that Jesus was *with the wild beasts*, has absolutely nothing peculiar in his representation of the matter. Matthew and Luke depart from each other in the classification of the different temptations. The third temptation with Matthew is the second with Luke, and conversely the third temptation with Luke is with Matthew the second. We feel constrained to give to Matthew in this respect the preference. He certainly strives in this account more after chronological order (v. 1, 5, 8) than Luke, who speaks altogether indefinitely (v. 1, 2). There is, also, in Matthew's order of succession a better climax, and it is in itself improbable that the Lord, after having recognized and unmasked the tempter by his detestable demand of worship, should have endured a third assault from him, or had anything further to do with him. Thence it was that Ambrose and other fathers of the Church, even in treating of Luke's narrative, gave the preference to the order of Matthew. In yet another respect the praise of greater accuracy belongs here to the first Gospel. Matthew makes the temptation begin first at the end of the forty days abode in the wilderness: Luke represents this whole period as a period of temptation, and says just as Mark, who comprises all in a single expression: that *he was forty days tempted of the devil*.^{*} Do we meanwhile think, when we speak of the temptation of the Lord, specifically of those three assaults mentioned by both relaters, then it is self-evident that the first, which was a consequence of the long continued fasting, began, not before, but on or after the fortieth day. Unless we should maintain that the Lord was also exposed to other temptations, of which we have no account, we must hold that Matthew has expressed himself here with greater justness.

* Unless we should connect the words of Luke: *ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα* with the preceding *ἦγετο εἰς τὴν ἔρημον*, and not, as is usual the case, with the following *πειρασθῆναι*. This might be very properly done, if the reading of Lachmann and Tischendorf, *ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ*, were the genuine one. But even with the common reading we might perhaps translate: "*He was led by the Spirit to the wilderness, forty days long, being tempted of the devil*;" if we apply the limitation of time, not to the duration of the temptation, but to his abode in the wilderness.

Truly, since no other *source* of this narrative is conceivable, than a communication of the Lord to his disciples, relative to what he had endured in solitude, it does not surprise us that Matthew, the Apostle, here gives a more accurate report than Luke, who had received his account from second or third hand.

Finally, as to the silence of John, it becomes less surprising if we admit, either that John thought it less necessary to relate what had already been communicated by his three predecessors, or that he designed to make known by his gospel only *what he had seen and heard*,* to which this history did not belong; or, that he, who desired to exhibit the glory of the incarnate Word full of grace and truth, passed this conflict by as pertaining to Jesus' human development, as he is also silent respecting the anguish in Gethsemane. Whichever of these reasons may be the true one, they enable us to see that it would be unfair to adduce John as witness against the credibility of this event.

The *time* of Jesus' temptation is defined with sufficient clearness. According to Matthew and Luke it followed upon his baptism in the Jordan; according to Mark immediately thereupon. It is unjust to assert, that according to the fourth gospel no space of forty days can be found for this occurrence. Certainly, when John the Baptist pointed out Jesus as the Lamb of God, and bore testimony respecting what happened at the Jordan, nearly six weeks might have elapsed since the baptism of Jesus. The embassy of the Jewish council to John on the previous day, to inquire with what right he preached and baptized (v. 19-29) may easily have taken place after Jesus' baptism, at the termination of the forty days' temptation.

The *place* of the temptation, the *wilderness* (we take this word, not with some ancients in a figurative, but in a literal sense), must, it seems, be sought between Jerusalem and Jericho. Tradition at least points out a region there, named Quarantania after Jesus' forty days' abode, as the place of the temptation, and no actual reason exists to contradict it. There the mountain is still shown, ascended by our Lord at the side of the tempter, lying over against Abarim, from whose top Moses surveyed the promised land. Single travelers relate, that in the vicinity of this mountain many stones are found, whose appearance and color so greatly resemble bread that they might easily mislead the superficial observer;†

* 1 John i, 3.

† John i, 29-34.

this report sheds perhaps some light on the first temptation. For reasons to be developed after, we believe that the wilderness remained the scene of Jesus' conflict, though the sacred narrative makes mention once of the pinnacle of the Jerusalem temple. Let us think here of a part of the extended wilderness in which John preached, and to which pertained the banks of the Jordan where he baptised: then we can imagine that the Lord, after his consecration by water baptism, descent of the Spirit, and voice from heaven, betook himself immediately *deeper* into the wilderness, in order, in one of its most solitary and remote parts, to reflect on the past and future, as he stood at a turning point in his life. The *condition* in which Jesus found himself in this period, is somewhat clearly described to us. *Full of the Holy Ghost*, who more than ever penetrated and animated him, he was impelled as by an irresistible force to solitude, not only with the *result*, but also with the *design*, that he, according to God's will and appointment, should be tempted of the devil, and be taught and exercised in the school of trial.

There for forty days he ate nothing. The number of forty days has properly attracted the attention of Scripture expositors. It is one of those which in the Holy Scriptures, especially in the history of the lives of its most remarkable men, constantly recur. Moses' sojourn with Jethro and Israel's journey through the wilderness lasted forty years; forty days Moses' separation at the giving of the law, Elijah's journey into the wilderness after he had been refreshed by heavenly food, and the period between the resurrection and ascension of the Lord. Are these coincidences accidental? For this they seem too numerous. Were they then all purposely so ordered of God? We can not see why it should be so, and it can only from a strictly typological standpoint be asserted. Do they then afford ground for the assertion that the whole account is designedly fictitious? That inference would be in the highest degree presumptuous. This limitation of time might be less exact, or serve to indicate a round but indefinite number, without subjecting the whole narrative on that account to unavoidable condemnation before the tribunal of impartial criticism. But what prevents us from admitting that the Lord himself, in the duration of his separation, proposed to himself for imitation the example of the two greatest men of God under the Old Testament, Moses and Elijah? And as to the *fasting*, we concede that this expression does

* Exod. xxxiv, 28; 1 Kings, xix, 8.

not necessarily signify an entire abstinence from all food. Also of the Baptist the Lord said (Matt. xi, 18): "*For John came neither eating nor drinking,*" yet we know that locusts and wild honey constituted his daily food. The expression of Luke: "*And in those days he did eat nothing,*" seems to us, however, to teach that the Lord abstained from all use of food. The possibility of such a long continued fasting has been established * by a multitude of examples, and if in the case of others, must it not be acknowledged in respect of him whose disposition of soul was so lofty, whose dominion over the necessities of the sensual nature so complete, and whose body, the dwelling of a sinless soul, had not been exhausted by servitude of the passions?

After Jesus had for forty days imposed silence on the demands of nature, whilst meditation on his Father's work was his only food and joy of his life, his need of food begins to speak more loudly in proportion as it had kept silence the longer, and at this moment comes to him for the first the tempter, denominated in the sacred narrative *the devil*. We have now come to the central point of the difficulties, to the question: *On what Tempter must we here think?* Let us subject the principal opinions to a closer examination.

That the history of the temptation can not in all its particulars possibly be understood *according to the letter*, is immediately apparent to every one. Or when do we anywhere see in the Holy Scriptures Satan appearing corporeally and visibly? Whence had the prince of darkness the power over the body of Jesus to convey him through air and clouds whither he would? Did the Lord know him, how could he enter into conversation with that evil spirit? Did he not know him, where then was his higher knowledge, and should he who unmasked the wickedness under the priestly gown, who beheld humility under the publican's garb, not have recognized the leader of hell, even under the garment of an angel of light? How could the devil make such detestable propositions, and where he had already been twice contemptuously repulsed, with any hope of success reserve the vilest for the last? No, we can hardly doubt that every expression in the sacred narrative that seems to design a *corporeal* apparition of the devil, must be understood as figuratively as

* Nieuwhof, p. 48. Lange, a. a. O. s. 213. It is then absolutely unnecessary to have recourse to the ingenious evasion of Hoffmann, who remarked that it is indeed said that Jesus did *not eat*, but not that he did *not drink*, and, therefore, by *water* perhaps sustained life.

elsewhere the declaration of the Lord: "*I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven.*"* It is not surprising that recourse was had to other explanations.

The *mythical view* of this narrative is defended not only by the most recent and boldest advocates of this interpretation, but, also before and after them, by others who in other respects occupied a more purely historical standpoint.† A sensible representation was found here of the truth that the Kingdom of the Messiah is absolutely irreconcilable with that of Satan. An appeal was above all made to accounts of the Old Testament, respecting sore temptations to which the principal men of God, a David, Job and others, were exposed by the devil,‡ and to the Jewish expectation of those days respecting a combat between the Messiah and Satan, from which the former should return as conqueror. But besides that it is still more arbitrary to admit myths in the beginning of Jesus' public life than in the history of his childhood, the examples adduced from the Old Testament differ in more than one respect from this narrative. That Moses and Elijah also fasted forty days is surely no proof that Jesus also could not have done it. In some Jewish writings God is represented as disputing Satan's power to also tempt the Messiah.§ And a representation that ascribed to Jesus the possibility of sinning, (and without this the whole narrative signifies nothing) corresponds little with that unlimited desire to exalt the Lord, which Strauss so fondly imputes to the primitive Christians. On this standpoint, moreover, much remains either wholly or in great part unexplained, as for instance the temptations themselves, their number and classification. And this whole interpretation proceeds from the dogmatic hypothesis of the impossibility and absurdity of the thing as it is related in the Gospel.

Little more value has, in our estimation, the interpretation of the narrative as *parable*, *dream* or *vision*, advocated by others.|| Had Jesus intended to represent to his disciples in

Luke x, 18.

† To the advocates of this view, named by Hase, may be added, B. Bauer, I. s. 238. Busken Huet, I. a. p. bl. 76. Meier in his Comm. Zu, Matth. 4.

‡ Job 1, 5; 1 Chron. xxii, 1.

§ Schoetgenius, *Horae Hebr.*

|| The first among us still in some degree defended by De Greuve, t. a. p. II. bl. 474, the second by Van Wille, *Bijd.* 1827, I. bl. 178. Van der Palm thinks the temptation occurred in a trance, "without its remaining therefore all a play of the imagination." But where are the boundaries here between the one and the other? The most recent advocates of the one opinion, as well as of the other, in Germany, are enumerated by Meijer, a. a. O. s. 107.

a *parable*, what were and what were not his principles in the erection of his kingdom, and which must animate them in their labour, he would have chosen an entirely different form. The difference between this and all other parables is unmistakable. It would also in that case be inexplicable how such a parable could be so misapprehended as to be regarded as a true history. Nowhere does the narrative exhibit a practical bearing on the task of the apostles. It is preceded and followed by purely historical accounts. It seems strange that the Lord should in such a way have made himself the object of a parable. And all these difficulties remain, yea, increase, even though it be supposed that this parable is not derived from Jesus himself, but from one of his adherents, and invented to warn against sensual Messianic expectations. And as to the other opinion, according to it the temptation in the wilderness loses all significance. What value has a conflict that is based on self-deception, and does he deserve the name of conqueror who has contended with speeches? Was such a dream or vision* wrought in the soul of Jesus by the devil, we do not comprehend what significance is to be ascribed to a temptation that is not resisted with rational self-consciousness. Was that† on the contrary a fruit of Jesus' own brain, we no longer dare ascribe absolute sinlessness to him whose imagination could defile itself with such abhorrent propositions.

The second principal opinion ascribes the temptation to *human* influence on Jesus. The manner in which this opinion was at an earlier date often presented,‡ is to be viewed as antiquated. How should the Pharasaic party be induced to send such a delegate to the yet unknown Jesus? How could he so speak, as Satan in the narrative, and expect a hearing? How could such a stupid assault prove a temptation to Jesus? In the meantime this opinion has in our time been anew advocated by a divine§ who expressly declares that he has not the least intention to obscure demonology, yea, to regard the *human* temptation which he accepts as in its deepest ground *Satanic*. The embassy of the Sanhedrim that was sent to John shortly after Jesus' baptism, had, he says, learned with

* Olshausen.

† H. E. G. Paulus.

‡ Besides by the writers mentioned by Hase, this opinion was first presented by Bekker, and also by De Perpoucher, *Leven van Jesus*, bl. 63. A trace of this explanation is found with a man, with whom it would certainly not be expected, with Bengel, who, on Matt. iv. 1, annotates: "Videtur ei tentator apparnisse sub schemate γραμματέως quia ter ei γέγραπται opponitur."

§ Lange, a. a., O. II., s. 218. Compare the Bibelwerk, Z. J. St.

certainly from him that the Messiah was already among them, without their knowing him. The Baptist, who pointed his disciples to the Christ, must much more have made such an indication to the fathers of the people. He could, even without accurately knowing Jesus' place of abode, have easily given the delegation such hints as to enable them without difficulty to find him. Having found him, "they encountered him with all the pomp and impetuosity of their Messianic expectations, and proposed to him a plan in all respects the object of what had just been matured in his own mind." The first temptation had its foundation in the exaggerated representations which they made of the days of the Messiah, in which deserts should be changed into fruitful land. In the account of the second temptation, an emblematic representation is made of the brilliant offers held out to him, to place him as sacerdotal king, as it were, on the pinnacle of the temple. In the last was laid before him a hierarchical plan of world conquest. This private collision, immediately after his baptism, will then also explain the vehement opposition which the clerical powers began against Jesus immediately after his public appearance, though their own interest, after so complete a defeat, would naturally lead them to keep the true reason concealed.

No one, certainly, will refuse to this representation the preference above the old Rationalistic, or withhold from it the praise of great acuteness. We find, however, important difficulties. Conceding the possibility that the Lord should have comprised different human tempters under the image of the one Satan, it must ever appear improbable that the Jewish delegation, on a single intimation (supposed, not even historically shown) of the hated Baptist, should have made such proposals to Jesus, who was yet wholly unknown to them, and against whose humble parentage they must immediately conceive so many prejudices. The supposed tendency of the temptations we can not recognize in the sacred narrative. It never appears that the origin of the speedy collision between Jesus and the Jewish council had been laid in a previous interview. It can be satisfactorily explained without it, and the Lord would certainly have brought this work of darkness so fully to the light, that it would have been described in its true character by the Evangelist.

We come to the opinion of those who suppose that the temptation was caused by *seductive thoughts, arising in the soul of the Lord from the representation of the Messianic aspira-*

tions of the Jews, which by the strength of his holy will he immediately rejected, and when, at a later period, he related this his inward history to his disciples, he ascribed it, according to oriental style, to the devil, the prince of this world. This opinion, defended * by celebrated theologians, deserves a closer examination.

We must (so we are told from this standpoint) place ourselves at the point of time immediately after Jesus' baptism, in order to feel that this was emphatically a *Messianic* temptation. About to enter on his public life, the Lord sets before himself, over against the way which he was to pursue, the by-paths on which he might err. He who *should* be the Messiah according to the will of God and the ideal sketched by the prophets, *might* also respond to the corrupt expectations of the nation. He *should* use his miraculous power to bless mankind, but he *might* also employ it for his own benefit: this is the temptation, when he was hungry to change the stones into bread. He *should* by purely moral means work on the hearts of men, but he *might* also, relying on God's protection and keeping of his favorites, by external display and abuse of his miraculous power, make for himself a way to their hearts: this is the temptation to cast himself down from the pinnacle of the temple. He *should* finally, by irreconcilable warfare against the kingdom of darkness, obtain the dominion of the world. It could not be but that such representations should present themselves to the soul of the Lord: a look at the expectations of his countrymen would suffice to suggest them. They did not proceed from his own soul, they were not fruits of a creative impure imagination, but were presented from without. He who will walk in the light, must also have exhibited to himself the darkness in all its blackness. The mere thought of evil without him, if it be only immediately rejected, does not defile even the holiness of God.

That this opinion contains very much that is beautiful and acceptable no one will deny. It has value chiefly on this account, that it sheds light on the emblematic significance of

* Especially by Ullmann, *Sundlosigk.* J. 5 e. Aufl. s. 117 u. ff. De Wette also, who earlier advocated the Mythical interpretation, has in the last edition of his *Exeg. Hb.* on Matthew so far approached Ullmann, that he finds in the sacred narrative a symbolical representation "*einer durch die herrschenden Messiaserwartungen veranlassten innern Gedankenversuchung, nicht in Ekstase, Vision oder Traum, sondern im klaren Bewusstsein.*" The same idea is in some measure advocated by V. Ammon and Weiss. Among us it has been developed in a tolerably plastic, not to say prosaic manner, especially by Meyboom, t. a. p. I. bl. 312 en vero., and with an eye on the known work of Pecant, more nearly exhibited by Dr. P. J. Gonda Quint, in his recent highly important work on *The Sinlessness of Jesus Christ.* Utr. 1892, p. 253. etc.

the temptations, and, moreover, sufficiently explains the time in which they arose. It certainly comes nearer the truth than any of the opinions reviewed. We may, however, be permitted modestly to enumerate the difficulties which in our view adhere to this interpretation. At the outset the *form* of the narrative is hardly to be reconciled with it. Had it been the Lord's intention to objectize in such a manner for his disciple a part of his propositions, a history of his inward conflict, he would perhaps have said that Satan had suggested to him such seductive thoughts, but this is still at a sufficient remove from clothing it as a conversation with and a being conveyed by Satan. It is said that the Lord, by allowing Satan to appear in his account of what happened, adapted himself to the belief of his contemporaries: but even if such an adaptation were advisable in his conversations with the multitudes, we ask, is it possible in a confidential communication to his disciples, and what reason could he have to describe a page from the secret history of his life as a temptation of Satan? It has been rightly remarked that Jesus has in that case communicated to his pupils a muddy mixture of truth and fiction, such as we should not expect from such an intelligent teacher,* and which would almost necessarily be erroneously apprehended by the apostles. We shall not with a Strauss and others ask if Jesus could have been perfectly sane, if he had ever felt an inclination to such a step as is indicated in the second temptation, for it would perhaps be replied, that this temptation was only a form of the idea given him in the representation of his contemporaries, that he should work with magnificent parade, and presumptuously rely on God's assistance. But the more must we doubt that the three temptations, even when apprehended in their ideal import, were really for the Lord grounded on the erroneous expectation of his contemporaries. We for our part dare assert unhesitatingly to this only as related to the *third*—the temptation to found an earthly kingdom. The two first temptations would in any case have proceeded more from the consciousness of his own miraculous power and the certainty

* Strauss, a. a. O. I. s. 475. Some other difficulties, also urged by Strauss, still retain their force, after what Ullmann, a. a. O. s. 246, u. ff. has adduced for his defense. Against the last mentioned consideration we are reminded: "*es ist immer möglich, dass die Darstellung, wie sie aus dem Munde Jesu kam, eine verständlichere, vollkommene Gestalt hätte, und durch die Relation für uns mehrere Schwierigkeiten bekommen hat.*" But in this way all becomes uncertain, and with what right does Ullmann then reckon the threefold temptation to the certain contents, and the person of Satan to the unhistorical form of the narrative.

of God's protection, than from the presentation of the corrupt spirit of the age. Now in that case the enticing thoughts and representations were not the first of what the Lord observed *without*, but of his own personal condition, of what he discovered *in* himself. And if now the consciousness of this last originated in him the thought of evil, we fear then that in this way shipwreck is made on one of the two rocks which were supposed to have been shunned, namely, either of making the seductive thoughts bare theoretic presentations * which possessed for the Lord no attractiveness, or of supposing an actual evil desire in him which was overcome only by conflict. In the first case the temptation is no temptation, in the other the sinlessness is no longer sinlessness.

Nothing remains to us, then, but the opinion that the temptation arose *by inworking of the evil spirit on the inward life of the Lord*. Such an inworking may be incomprehensible to us, but it is not on that account inconceivable. This explanation agrees undoubtedly more than any other both with the letter and spirit of the narrative. Are *angels* spoken of at the close, who served Jesus, these words can hardly be taken in a literal sense without conceding that the word *devil* is to be understood of a properly so-called evil spirit. The Lord has, moreover, so often spoken of Satan, the enemy of God and man, as of a personal evil being, that his meaning here can not indeed be dubious. And as it has already appeared that we can not possibly think of a *corporeal* appearance of Satan, nothing remains to us but to place this his working in the domain of the soul's life. Touches in the narrative, as for instance the forty day's fasting, which of itself must have exerted the most powerful influence on the feeling and imagination; the standing on the pinnacle of the temple which was accessible only to the priests; the seeing of all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time, which

* Hear Ullmann, s. 110 of the third edition: "*so wie das Falsche und Verführerische sich Christo in seinem Denken vergewärtigte, würde es unmittelbar durch die Kraft seines Geistes niedergeschlagen es drang nicht befelegend in sein Gefühl und Phantasie, in sein Herz und Wille ein, sondern kam bloss in die Sphäre des Gedankens.*" —Is that temptation? Therefore Fleck denominates it: "*flüchtige Vorspiegelungen sinnlicher Ungedult.*" And Schleiermacher rightly says, *ad Luc.*, s. 54: "*Wenn Jesus auch nur auf die flüchtigste Weise solche Gedanken gehabt hätte, so wäre er nicht Christus, und diese Erklärung erscheint mir als der erste neoterische Frevel, der gegen seinem Person begangen würde.*" An equally unfavorable judgment is pronounced by Elrard. And we are not surprised that Neander, although he in many respects agrees with the idea of Ullmann, finally comes to regard the temptation in its deepest ground as *Satanic*.

yet for ordinary sight is impossible, and similar particulars, give us perfect freedom to such an apprehension of the matter.

We feel that this opinion will immediately call forth questioning on the part of those who reject as an absurdity the doctrine of the New Testament touching a personal evil spirit. But we can not range ourselves on their side, convinced as we are that many considerations against the Biblical Demonology rest on exaggeration or misunderstanding. Are men disposed to reject in this respect the authority of Jesus and the apostles, let them take that liberty: only let it not be denied that the doctrine of an evil spirit is contained in their utterances. Are some, reasoning philosophically, willing to see therein only a personification of the idea of sin, let them do so: only let them not force such a view upon the Lord and his apostles. Never is Rationalism weaker than when it seeks to justify itself exegetically. That Demonology was developed among the Jews soon after the Babylonian captivity, is true. But whether it was not earlier known in Israel, is another question, and so little is it of Chaldean or Parsee origin, that it perceptibly deviates therefrom in principle. That also in higher orders of the spiritual world liberty has been abused to sin, is no more absurd than the idea that the fallen angels, to a high measure of intellectual development, unite a deep moral degeneracy. The one as well as the other is to be daily seen in mankind. He who will believe in angels and not in the devil, is but little consistent with himself. This much is certain that the Lord has spoken of the devil in a proper sense, not only before the multitude, but also before the disciples when he exhibited to them the mysteries of the kingdom of God, and formed them for future preachers of the Gospel, not only in passing, but repeatedly, positively and emphatically. Jesus needed not to adapt himself here to the popular notion, as he found in the Sadducees a party that believed in neither angels nor devils, and to which he might in this respect have attached himself had he himself rejected that belief. Must we thus admit that Jesus himself acknowledged the existence of devils, and do we hesitate to assert that he might have erred in so important a matter, we must then in this respect submit to his authority. When does he deserve less confidence; when he speaks of the secrets of the spirit-world, or when he announces to us the secrets of the future? He had certainly looked more deeply into both than we, beyond

whose experience this whole domain lies. That Jesus, moreover, where *particulars* of Demonology are the topic, often expresses himself agreeably to the contracted ideas of his contemporaries, we by no means deny. It is the difficult but important task of criticism to distinguish properly here what must be regarded as abiding substance of his doctrine, what as temporal and perishable form for those days. But the chief matter we hold fast, and believe we shall also best explain the history of the temptation in the spirit of our Lord who communicated it to his disciples, when we suppose here the working of that evil spirit.*

Are we asked, if such a working on the inward life of the Lord is *conceivable* by us, we readily acknowledge it to be in the highest degree dark, but yet, under God's high permission, we can not regard it as absolutely impossible. God's Son, once become flesh, lay open to the inworking of other finite beings, and the power of hell, which set itself against God himself, might indeed venture also to assail God's Anointed. Is the inquiry made, What was the aim of the tempter? In connection with Jesus' declaration, that he was a murderer from the beginning, we ascribe to him the design to rob the Lord of a moral purity, without which he could be no Redeemer of sinners, and so ruin the work of redemption, as he had marred the work of creation: it is full of significance therefore that this conflict stands at the beginning of his public life. Are we questioned as to the *possibility* of the Lord's temptation: it is based on the reality of his incarnation. As man Jesus *could* sin, and had continually to contend with sin around him. His sinlessness did not exclude the possibility of sinning, but consisted in this, that he, filled with deep abhorrence of sin, contended with and overcame it under whatever aspect it presented itself.† The Father only *can not* be tempted to evil: the Son, in his human appearance, must in

* We are surprised to find that this opinion is not more fully and critically examined by Ullmann, who mentions all other interpretations. It has been for years advocated in our country, among others, by father Hinlopen, in his *Gedachten over eenige plaatsen der H. Schr.*, bl. 283-286; in Germany and Switzerland it has especially of late found advocates. See Baumgarten, Rigenbach, and others. It speaks for itself that the above does not in our estimation contain a complete defense of Demonology, but only brief hints in justification of our standpoint. The first is by our very design prohibited. On this whole question the important observations *zur Lehre von Teufel in de Eeong. Kircheng.* 1853, No. 73 u. ff. deserve to be compared. See also especially the *Dogmatick* of Martensen, I. s. 211 u. ff.

† "Potuit non peccare," we therefore rather say than "non potuit peccare," and are here reminded of that *moral* impossibility which, according to

this respect also become like unto his brethren. Our Lord had thus, like every man, a sensual feeling for that which was agreeable or disagreeable. For this feeling enjoyment must naturally possess a charm above privation, honor above shame, riches above poverty, life above death. That feeling was the point of contact within for the power of temptation, and he who finds therein anything sinful in itself, would be obliged to make an accusation against God, who constituted our human nature originally so; he would moreover be obliged to regard our first parents as native sinners, for even *before* the fall we meet with the same feeling in them. The true *incarnation* of God's Son serves thus as a pledge that *temptation* had place here in the proper sense of the word. The *design* of that temptation on God's part is just as little doubtful. Must the chief Captain of Salvation, according to the express doctrine of the gospel, be *sanctified* and *perfected* on earth, he must learn obedience not only along the way of trial, but also along the path of temptation.* He only is crowned who hath overcome, he only is conqueror who hath striven with manly courage. Tried, but not overcome, could he, the second Adam, become the centre whence new life and light should arise for fallen humanity. And if he can now sympathize with our infirmities, it is also because he was himself tempted like as we. Thus, it finally appears how the Lord could in the proper sense of the word be *tempted*, *without however losing his sinlessness*. The representations of evil he did not excite in himself, but they were given him from without by inworking of another spirit on his. Not from within out of his heart, but from another quarter comes the voice of temptation, and sounds seductively in his ears. Sin would have been the result, had the will of the Lord inclined for a moment to commit† that which he recognized as evil and as in conflict with the will of God. That he received the thought of evil was no stain. That the three ideas: *to perform a miracle for himself, to work on the multitude by outward display, and to receive earthly dominion, viewed in themselves*, and still out of

1 John, iii, 9, is found to a certain height even in the renewed man, but which by no means excludes in the abstract a physical impossibility. On this whole question compare, besides those already mentioned, also the theologians cited by Dr. P. J. Gonda Quint, and a. p. bl. 299.

* Even Weiss views Jesus' temptation as a development process, without which he could not become perfect and mankind could not be redeemed, yea, whereby the consciousness of his higher nature may still more powerfully be awakened in him.

† Compare Ullmann, s. 121.

relation to the will of God, had a charm for his delicate and purely sensual feeling, is so little to be disapproved of, that the contrary would hardly have been conceivable in a true man. It lay in the very nature of the thing that such representations should *at this moment* have a double attraction. It belonged to the constitution of an uncorrupted sensual nature, that it should feel that charm in all its power.* Why else should the Lord have seized a weapon? Then first would sin have arisen in the soul of the Redeemer, when *inclination* to the evil had been excited, when the *desire* had arisen: may I walk in that way which sin prescribes to me, if the *question* had cost him an inward conflict: shall I serve the light or the darkness? Surely, even had the Lord not committed the evil itself, that inclination, that wish, that question, however brief, had already been a germ of sin, which would have prevented us from acknowledging him as the immaculate. Or is the sinful act alone worthy of punishment before God? But of all this we perceive nothing. The temptation presents itself in its fairest colors to his imagination: he has a vivid sense of the attractiveness which it, both in itself and at that moment, possesses; he perceives that he could yield—behold the reality and the peril of the temptation. But he instantaneously rejects the temptation; it remains something foreign to him; it

* We accept thus in all earnestness the temptability of the Lord, as it is taught, Heb. iv, 15, and believe that the state of easily seducible sensuality, which is inseparable from every truly human personality, constitutes the point of contact for the working of the tempter upon him. By virtue of this sensuality the demand of the temptation did not glide off from him, like a torrent of rain from a rock, but made *impression* on him, an impression the deeper in proportion as his sense of the beautiful, the agreeable, etc., was more vivid. From *impression*, however, to an *inward conflict* occasioned thereby there is yet a wide step. The latter we dare not ascribe to Jesus, even though it had been ever so brief and had terminated in the most glorious victory, for it would serve as proof that the spiritual principle in the Lord was not powerful enough to *instantly* silence the voice of the sensual, and his sinlessness, that is, his freedom from the sinful nature, would suffer irretrievable shipwreck. In our view the sinful principle lay in Jesus' *flesh*, *potentially*, not *actually*. Also in Rom. viii, 3, we do not, even as Ullmann, find this last taught. His birth of a human mother imparted to him a sensual nature, that *could* sin; his conception of the Holy Ghost may have caused that that sensuality always remained subject to the higher principle. But the inquiry into the connection between Jesus' sensuality, temptability and sinlessness would require a separate treatise. Compare, touching this important subject, the hints of Dr. A. Rutgers v. d. Loeff, *Waarh in Liefde*, 1844, II. bl 363-365, as also those of Guericke on the one side and Munchmeyer on the other, in the Stud. u. Krit. of 1843 and 1845, and especially those of Dr. S. Hoekstra, in his work on *Freedom in connection with Self-consciousness, Morality and Sin*. Amsterdam, 1858, bl. 333 and further.

is indeed contemplated as a proposition, but it does not cause his will to waver, and there we see the boundary which prevents it from becoming sin.

Two examples for illustration : It was yet no sin, when Eve saw that the forbidden tree was good for food, nor yet that she saw all the desirableness of being permitted to eat of that fruit, when she viewed this act out of connection with the tentative command; nor even that she—the thing viewed by itself—would rather have eaten than not ; but then, first, when *notwithstanding the prohibitory command*, actual *concupiscence* arose in her, and dissatisfaction with the precept that set a limit to her enjoyment, sin stole into her heart, even before she stretched out her hand to the apple. It was yet no sin, that the Lord in Gethsemane exhibited a natural dread of death, a natural clinging to life. Yet no sin, that he, in the proximity to death and in the consciousness of being able to avoid it, doubly felt all the attractiveness of life. Yet no sin that he even asked and wished : If it be possible, let this cup pass from me. But first, when he allowed that wish, *over against God's will, after having clearly recognized this last*, still to avail; when the resolution to submit to that acknowledged will had been preceded by hesitation and inward conflict: when he had taken only the first step in the path of disobedience, although he should have immediately returned, yea, then would the man of sorrows have been a child of sin.

We have said much on the temptation in the wilderness, without dwelling yet on the course of the history itself, but the treatment of the latter will now be easier for us, and we can in few words represent to ourselves how we are, from our standpoint, to conceive of the course, the weight, and the opposition of every assault.

Jesus having fasted forty days, and now, whilst he, in an highly elevated frame of mind and in an exhausted state of body, seeks perhaps herbs or roots to still his pinching hunger, the tempter for the first time assails him in spirit. He reminds him of what happened at the Jordan, and says : "What a sad condition for him, who is declared to be the Son of God ! Art thou the Son of God, command these stones (or, according to Luke, with definite indication of one) command this stone that it become bread. Use thy miraculous power for thy own preservation !" Perilous temptation in the necessity of the moment ! Jesus knows he *can* do what is demanded of him; he has only to speak one word, and the rude pebble will be transformed into nutritious bread. But he is

immediately penetrated also with the thought, not for himself, but for others, is miraculous power imparted to him. Is he faithful to the Father, God will, without his running ahead of his providence, indicate means to appease his hunger. *Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.* That word of Moses (Deut. viii, 3), in regard to Israel's miraculous nourishment in the wilderness, is Jesus' shield against the temptation. The devil desists, the stone remains stone.

The Lord is anew absorbed in holy meditation on the work that the Father gives him to do. He surveys the path that lies before him, and, because he will work only by moral means on a deeply degenerate nation, he can easily calculate that it will be a path of suffering, conflict and self-denial. Is there no other way open to him to attain more easily and at the same time more certainly his end? "Without doubt," whispers now the invisible tempter to him, and sharpens the arrow of ambition where that of sensuality has been blunted. He works on Jesus' imagination, and places him in spirit on the roof of the lofty temple. There stands the Lord, and becomes almost dizzy, as from an eminence of five hundred feet he looks down on the city and its environs. Now rises the storm of temptation. Has it just been assailed with the weapon of the Holy Scriptures, it now turns Jesus' weapon against himself. "Art thou God's Son," thus it speaks, "to you, then, belongs then the promise of Jehovah to his favorite, sung by the ancient poet: For he shall give his angels charge concerning thee; and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.* Why dost thou hesitate? cast thyself down into the depth. No cleft of the rock shall dash thee to pieces, no abyss shall spread for thee a bed of death. Angelic wings shall bear thee up in thy fall, and convey thee into the midst of the dense crowds of temple visitants, as an example of God's rescuing power." Dangerous temptation! By one grand display he will be able to procure what otherwise is hardly attained by years of labor. By one exertion of bodily power he will effect more than by months of mental toil and vexation. But the Lord needs hardly consider the proposition of the tempter, before the subtlety of the reasoning, and the presumptuousness of the literal application of what in poetic language was figuratively said, stand in clear outlines before his mind. That would be to tempt God, speaks the voice of his inmost conviction, and that thou shalt not do, saith the Scripture.†

* Ps. xci: 11, 12.

† Deut. vi, 16.

The second time the fiery dart of Satan has been blunted on that shield; the second time the Lord stands before our eye, encompassed by the resplendent rays of victory.

Jesus is no longer in the spirit on the temple-mountain. Twice has the prince of darkness essayed a fruitless assault upon him, and if the angels have not needed to bear him up in their hands, they have, perhaps, invisibly prostrated themselves before him. Now the third temptation begins. Has the fiend worked in vain in the case of Jesus on sensuality and ambition; he will now attempt to cast the spark of concupiscence into his soul. In the hour of his quiet seclusion the Lord casts a look into the future, and is delighted in thinking on the prediction of the prophets, that the time will come when all the kingdoms of the earth shall be subject to Israel's Messiah. It is to him, as if he is standing on a high mountain, where, as upon another Nebo—a world—Canaan is unveiled before his eyes and spread out at his feet.* Royally beats his heart with the joyful expectation—at the end of a course of obedience, toil and pain, such an inheritance is appointed thee. But on the highest enjoyment borders the greatest danger. "All these things will I give thee," says the prince of darkness to him with authoritative tone: "they are my property. I give them to whom I will. Worship me, and I will crown thee as King." But not more quickly does the thunderclap succeed the lightning than the language of contemptuous refusal the offer of the reward of sin. It is as if all the power of the evil world stands before the eye of the Lord personified in one satanic form. What he must have suspected in the first and second temptation he knows in the third: the serpent wisdom of this counsel is earthly, natural, devilish. "Get thee behind me, Satan," is the reply of faith and loyalty. "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."

* The expositors who have given themselves so much trouble to excogitate a mountain in Palestine, from which the inhabited world could, in whole or in great part, be surveyed, have not only forgotten that here certainly a beholding with the bodily eye, agreeably to its ordinary state, is not spoken of, but also that by the kingdoms, of which mention is here made, we are not to understand the land of Judea, but, with absolute exclusion of it, only the Gentile world. This, indeed, is exhibited in the New Testament, according to the opinion of those days, as subject to the evil spirit, but never Palestine, the seat of the theocracy. That the requirement, moreover, of prostration must not be taken literally, but purely as symbol of the homage which the Lord should render to the power of darkness by agreement with the corrupt spirit of his age, needs hardly be recalled to mind. See Neander, I. bl. 113.

At that command of power the tempter retreats. He leaves the Lord for a time,* to renew later his efforts. And where, for this time, the last conflict has spent its violence, the victor enjoys the foretaste of a higher joy. Angels come to serve him, and may they have extended food to the hungry, or pointed him to the crown of his glory, enough, the wilderness of temptation becomes to him a gate of heaven!

We could not contemplate the history of the temptation, without, in the midst of the manifold particulars that drew our attention, being immediately impressed by the craftiness of the temptation. Coming to the Lord in solitude, after a forty days' fast, unexpectedly and repeatedly it works just on those sides of his heart which were first exposed to its assault. It once appeals to words of Scripture, and offers him the opportunity of avoiding all conflict. It makes requirements of him, compliance with which might seem in some measure allowable; to supply his own wants in an extraordinary case; to commit himself blindly to a divine protection of whose help he might be assured; to ascend by the shortest way a throne to which he has legal claim, and from which he aspired from love to men. Do those demands become continually bolder, the promises also become greater. One authoritative word of self-interest shall be rewarded with nutritious bread, one hazardous act of presumption with angelic guardianship, one prostration of subjection with a world-dominion. Certainly, one must first possess all the power of Jesus to feel what temptation lay in its possessions. It is not the question, whether that tempter could bestow all that he promised—who thinks of that question at the moment that the voice of sin addresses him? But it is not to be gainsayed that the Lord had not been perfect in obedience and love, and therefore not fitted to be Redeemer of the world had he stranded on one of these rocks. Never had he become to our souls the bread of life had he employed the miraculous power conferred on him for the salvation of mankind, to create bread for himself. Never could our knees have bent before him, had he knelt before the tempter. And even had he not been dashed to pieces on the rocks of the temple-mount, the edifice of our salvation had been turned into a heap of ruins, had he by presumptuous dis-

* Since, according to the Evangelical representations, Jesus' whole life was one conflict with the kingdom of darkness, that medately through his malicious instruments the inimical Jews sought to effect the Lord's fall, it is absolutely unnecessary to make arbitrary guesses for answering the question, when the devil came to Jesus again and endeavored to work upon him.

play been willing to speed the coming of a kingdom that was not to be of this world. It is apparent how artfully the plan was contrived, and how all depended here on principles.

The three temptations, indeed, proposed here to the Lord, exhibit to us the image of the conflict that he had through his whole life to wage.* In the possession of amazing miraculous power, he had continually occasion to use for himself a power that he, according to the nature of his vocation on earth, had only for the salvation of others. Invested with the power of omnipotence, he had constantly opportunity to create a sensation to which his brethren once incited him, and to suddenly make an impression which he, by purely moral means, made only and gradually on a few. Living among men whose minds the god of this world had blinded, he had only to extend them his hand in order to mount a throne, so speedily prepared by earthly-mindedness and false desire of liberty. The principles, therefore, must, by the combat in the wilderness, be firmly established which were in future to guide him. Only he who refused to change stones into bread would be able, at a later period, to offer resistance to the call: "Come down from the cross, and we will believe thee!" Only he who would rather leave the temple-mount solitarily, than to cast himself down before the eyes of thousands, could later possess the strength of soul to refuse the Pharisees a sign from heaven, and Herod a proof of his miraculous power, which would, perhaps, have delivered him from the way of death. Only he who here bent not his knees to the evil one, could later flee from the earthly-minded multitude, when they would with violence make him king, and repel even Peter, who wished to draw him aside from the path of his vocation, with the words, "Get thee behind me, Satan!"

But not only when we place it in connection with his later history, but viewed by itself, the temptation in the wilderness revealed Jesus' *sublime greatness*. Involuntarily are our thoughts led back from the wilderness of temptation to the lost Eden. Whilst the progenitor of our race succumbs to the first assault, and, surrounded by abundance, can not abstain from a single tree, the Restorer of our nature, tormented by hunger, declines the proposal to change stones into bread, and is at the third combat still unfaltering in courage. The first Adam gives greater credence to the assurances of the seducer than to God's threatening: the second clings to the

* This has already been excellently pointed out by Hase and Neander, whom it is yet by no means superfluous to compare.

principle, "*it is written*," and assails with that sword of the Spirit the crafty foe. Truly, from such a pure and holy God-man can new life and light go forth into corrupted humanity.

The permanent value and importance of the history of the temptation is thus apparent. It spreads light on the Lord's person, and teaches us to know him, as become true man, in all things tempted like as we are, but yet free from the stains of sin. It exhibits, moreover, his greatness in the clearest light, and as often as we observe what self-government, what steadfastness, what purity of heart, what deep insight into the Scripture, what unshaken fidelity to the Father he here manifested, we are not surprised that even angels descended from heaven to crown such a conqueror. This history teaches us, moreover, to know the kingdom of Christ, as a dominion whose principles are diametrically opposed to the kingdom of error and iniquity; the founder of which sought not himself, but the happiness of his subjects; of which humility may be called the watchword and self-denial the fundamental law. And us, the subjects of that kingdom, it points to the temptations that also threaten our peace, and which, in principle, are no other than those which in that hour assailed him: the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes and the pride of life. It enables us to see how we can arm us against their assaults by the considerate, serious, and constant use of the Holy Scriptures. It ensures to us that heaven regards us with interest in that conflict, and so serves not only as a support to our Christian faith, but also as a school and light for our Christian life.*

That the history of the temptation in the wilderness is a rock, on which the most celebrated expositions have suffered shipwreck, eighteen centuries have taught us. Whether we, too, have augmented the number of those shipwrecks by our exposition, we leave to the judgment of others. May only the manner in which we have treated it cause no one to make shipwreck of his most holy faith, but strengthen many in the conviction of the Lord's heavenly greatness. Filled with this impression ourselves, we, for a time, lay our pen to rest. The private life of the Redeemer, begun in the night, finished in the wilderness, stands now before us as a great and glorious whole. The conqueror of the kingdom of darkness we leave in the company of his ministering angels, with whom we in silence adore.

* Compare Baumgarten, a. a. O. s. 65, and what we have written on this narrative in Lange's *Bibelw. Ev. Lu.*, as also our *Sermon* on the temptation in the wilderness, in the *Stimmen des heils* Rotterd. 1854.

ART. IX.—NEW GERMAN WORKS ON THEOLOGY.

By C. A. BRIGGS, Berlin, Prussia.

1. *Der Brief an die Hebräer* erklärt v. J. H. KURTZ. This is a valuable addition to the commentaries on this difficult Epistle. The fundamental idea of the Epistle, Kurtz thus states:

"The New Testament Revelation, as made through the mediation of the Son of God himself, completing and finishing all divine Revelation, is incomparably superior to the merely preparatory and preliminary revelation made in the Old Covenant." On this basis he gives the following synopsis:

Part I. Christ, as making known the New Testament Revelation, is infinitely exalted above the angels, which declared the Old Testament Law. 1. The eternal exaltation of Christ over the angels, as the Son of God. (Chap. I.) The consequent exhortation (II, 1-4.) 2. The temporal humiliation of Christ below the angels as the Son of man (II, 5-18).

Part II. Christ the Mediator of the New Covenant is infinitely exalted above Moses the Mediator of the Old Covenant. The dogmatic evidences (iii, 1-6); the consequent exhortation (iii, 7-iv, 13).

Part III. The exaltation of the New Testament Highpriesthood of Christ over the Old Testament highpriesthood as represented by Aaron. Exhortation serving as a transition to the fundamental idea of the part (iv, 14-16). 1. The capacity, calling and preparation of Christ (as Son of man) for the Highpriesthood (v, 1-10). Exhortation (v, 11-vi, 20). 2. The absolute completion and perfection of the heavenly Highpriesthood of Christ. Proofs of the absolute perfection of the highpriestly person of Christ; (a) The Typical Melchizedek and the Levitical priesthood (vii, 1-10). (b) The Archetypal Melchizedek and the Levitical priesthood (vii, 11-28). (B.) Proofs of the absolute perfection of the highpriestly functions of Christ. (a) Statement of the fundamental Theme, (viii, 1-6); (b) The preference of the New Covenant over the Old, (viii, 7-13). (c) The shadowiness of the Old Testament Sanctuary and its divine Service (ix, 1-10); (d) The superiority of the New Testament Sanctuary and the Expiation there accomplished (ix, 11-x, 18). Exhortation (x, 19-39).

Part IV. *Idea and Nature of Faith*. Idea and nature with examples (xi). Exhortation (xii). Closing Admonition, etc. (xiii).

Kurtz is not positive in his views of authorship, etc., but considers that the weight of evidence is for Apollos as author—the Jewish Christian community in Rome as the place of destination, and that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and after the persecution of Nero—hence 66 A. D.; and that it was probably written from some seaport, such as Ephesus or Corinth. He gives us two valuable Disquisitions in connection with Part III. (1) On the author's idea of the time of the beginning of the Highpriesthood of Christ. This is written in a polemical spirit. I will give an extract: "The defenders of the Orthodox exegesis justly blame the Socinians for their unwarranted confusion of the royal and highpriestly office of Christ, although both are united in one person, but they are guilty of the same confusion, in that they ascribe to Christ, in his character of *sacerdos*, what belongs to him as *victim*. And the guilt of such arbitrary and unwarranted confusion weighs heavier upon them than on the Socinians, for it is plainly not so grave an error to confound

the royal and highpriestly acts of Christ, which unfold themselves at the same time and in connection with one another, as to confound the work of Christ as *victim*, with his work as *priest*, for these are sharply contrasted and distinguished, not only in *kind*, but also in *place and time*. The one is *passion*, the other *action*—the one belongs to his *earthly* calling, the other to his *heavenly*, the one has been once for all *completed and ended* with his *death*, the other *begins* with his *ascension*, and continues till his reappearing."

The second treats of the relation of the author's doctrine of the Atonement to the Old Testament Sacrifice. This is a very fine Essay, and is based on Kurtz' work, *Der Alttestamentliche Opfercultus*. "The laws and places of worship, the priests and the offering of the Old Covenant, were divine institutions, and as such holy, significant and binding as long as they lasted in accordance with their nature. As *ὅσια τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν αὐποδείγματα τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* they can not indeed present *αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν πραγμάτων*, can not bring in *τὴν τελείαν*, but they represent and typify—they point to it—awaken the need of it and the longing after it. Now their realization has appeared in Christ, in his offering all the deficiencies and imperfections of the Old Testament are supplied—all that was shadowy realized and essentially presented. He is the true offering and the true high priest in *one person*, for he has himself brought his own body into the heavenly holiest of all, and has, with his own blood, accomplished the atonement, having by his death as a victim provided an ever acceptable means of atonement."

Geschichte des volkes Israel von Anbeginn bis zur eroberung Masadas, 72 nach Christus, v. Dr. FERD. HRTZIG, in zwei Theilen, 1st Theil bis zum Ende der Persischen Oberherrschaft. This is an important work by this great critic and orientalist. Making allowances for the decided rationalism of the author, we can find much valuable information in a compact form. The whole early history is but a collection of myths, which the author strives to dissipate by explaining them from philological and other external sources, thus gaining the germ of truth still remaining. "Nowhere in the entire preliminary history of Israel do we stand on safe historical ground. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are strung together as Acacus, Peleus and Achilles. We must in both cases alike decide as to their historical character. However, he who does not believe that Achilles actually lived, does not thereby deny the fact of the Trojan war." The records of the Old Testament are no more than the records of other ancient peoples; and often when they clash, the testimony of the latter is to be preferred. The historical books were late in their origin; even the Pentateuch owes most of its laws to the reign of Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah, not to speak of the narratives.

Book I. Preface; Chronology; Earliest Migrations into Palestine; Preliminary history of Israel. Book II. Early History of Israel till their Migration into Canaan; Occupation of the Land of Canaan; Period of the Judges; State of Culture in this period. Book III. Kingdoms of Saul, David and Solomon. Book IV. Division into two kingdoms. The Kingdom of the Ten Tribes; Bloom of the Kingdom of Judah in the period preceding the Assyrian. Book V. Decay of the Kingdom of Judah in the Assyrian period; the Chaldean period. Book VI. Babylonian Captivity; the Jews under the Persian Supremacy; the great synagogue. The second part is now in press and is promised soon.

Grundriss der Patrologie oder der ältern christliche Literaturgeschichte von Dr. J. ALZOG. This work, by the learned Romish Church historian, Professor in Freiburg, has, within three years, reached a second revised and improved edition. It is furnished with a complete chronological list of the Fathers, and the early Christian writers, closing with Bede Venerabilis, and John of Damascus, and has a copious index. The author avoids the difficulty of treating heretics in a work entitled Patrology, by his second title, "The History of Early Christian Literature." He limits himself to the Græco-Roman period, or his first period of church history, which he subdivides into 4 epochs. 1. The Rise of Christian Literature. The Apostolic Fathers. 2. Continuance and Improvement of Christian Literature. The Apologists. 3. The Bloom of Patristic Literature from the 1st ecumenical council till the death of Gregory the Great. 4. The Decay of Patristic Literature in the Roman Empire until its revival and peculiar transformation among the Germanic and Romanic peoples. "The Fathers of the Church may be regarded as the stream of divine life, having its source in Christ. They in unbroken succession have transmitted Christian doctrine in their writings and fixed *Tradition* as the secondary source of doctrines of faith; therefore the patristic period is of primary importance, whilst the later periods, the 2nd or the scholastic, the 3rd since the influence of the Humanitarians, may be more easily treated in connection with church history." "This discipline is in the nearest relation to Dogmatics, for Dogmatics must derive its proofs from Tradition or the writings of the Fathers, as well as from the Bible." The author's method is to give a short sketch of each writer's life, works and influence, and an outline of his writings, with their peculiarities.

Sebastian Franck von Word der Schwarmgeist. Ein Beitrag zur Reformations Geschichte v. Dr. C. A. HASE. This work presents us with the life, works and doctrines of the great mystic of the Reformation. We are thankful to the author for this thorough and learned production, which is calculated to throw great light upon this important character of the Reformation, about whom so little is known, and who is not always understood.

Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacher, Ein Selbstbiographie. After the death of this distinguished preacher, his children discovered, to their surprise, among their father's papers, an autobiography extending as far as 1848. This they have now given to the public, together with extracts from letters, addresses, etc., filling up the space left unfinished of the last 20 years. The whole closes with two sermons, the one delivered on the occasion of the death of his wife, Jan., 1868, the other immediately before his death, Nov. 15, 1868, from Phil. iii, 17-21. The autobiography is written in an admirable style, and contains much interesting, as well as valuable, information respecting his distinguished father and other men of his times, as well as himself.

Die Theologie des Leibnitz, aus sämmtlichen gedruckten und vielen noch ungedruckten quellen mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die kirchlichen zustände der Gegenvart zum ersten Male vollständig dargestellt v. Dr. A. FICHLER. This work, whose first volume now appears with some 500 pages, is introductory to a much more comprehensive work, treating of the development of the Romish Church in its relation to the spirit of Christianity and its internal influence on the nations. The second volume, which will complete the theology of Leibnitz, is promised in a few months. The author writes with great enthusiasm, and

with considerable confidence in himself, with the assurance that he has imbibed the spirit of his master, and that his standpoint does not materially differ from that of the great Leibnitz himself. He presents, I, the Character of Leibnitz, political, scientific, religious. II. The Theology of Leibnitz in general. Its character and problems. III. The doctrine of the divine and supernatural in its relation to the human and the natural. 1. The Idea and Being of God. 2. Reason and Revelation, Faith and Knowledge. 3. Miracles. IV. The doctrine of the World. 1. Origin of the World and Nature. 2. Preservation and Government of the World. 3. Physical and Moral Evil in the World. V. The Doctrine of Man. 1. His Nature and Destiny. 2. His Freedom. 3. Sin, its causes and consequences. VI. Justification and Sanctification, including the Person and Work of Christ, Predestination and Election, the Nature of Virtue, etc. VII. Monasticism and Celibacy. Appendix and Leibnitz's estimation of the Jesuits.

Die Religion ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte von OTTO PFLIDEDEER. The author is a moderate rationalist, professing to be a disciple of Schleiermacher. He has written an able and interesting book, in a fair and candid spirit. "Religion is the satisfaction of the fundamental impulse of man, the reconciliation of the opposition between Infinity and Finitude, Freedom and Dependence, which reaches down into the foundations of human nature." He presents us in two thick vols. the following system:

Book I. *The Nature of Religion*. Part I. *The Nature of Religion as a state of the soul*. The psychology of the philosophy of religion. Sect. I. The psychological nature of religion—Piety. Chap. 1. History of the philosophic conceptions of religion. 2. Criticism and result. Piety in its material nature and its psychological form. II. Relation of Piety to other functions of the soul. 3. Cognition in its relation to religion (Faith and Knowledge). 4. Relation of moral conduct to Piety. III. Piety in association. 5. The origin of pious association. 6. The realization of Piety in associations in worship. Part II. *The nature of religion as a divinely-human relation*. The metaphysics of the philosophy of religion. I. God and the world. 7. Proofs of the existence of a personal God, cosmological, theological, moral, ontological and religious. 8. Relation of God to the World. II. Man. 9. The origin of the human race. 10. The destiny of man. III. Divine revelation. 11. Positive unfolding of the idea of a divine revelation, 12. Criticism of dogmatic ideas. Miracles, Prophecy and Inspiration. These the author carefully eliminates as unreasonable and unnecessary.

Book II. *The History of Religion*. Part I. *Heathenism*. I. Religions on an immediately natural basis. 1. Natural Religion under the prevailing type of Dependence. Semites and Egyptians. 2. Under the prevailing type of Freedom. Arians on the Indus and in Germany. Appendix. Fetishism and Shamanism. II. Religions of Culture on a natural basis. 3. Under the prevailing type of Freedom. Greeks and Romans. 4. Under the prevailing type of Dependence. Chinese. III. Religions on a Supernatural basis. 5. Elevation above natural dependence by a negative moral redemption of self. Brahminism and Buddhism. 6. Elevation above Natural Freedom by a positive moral reference to the divinely good as an end. The Religion of Zoroaster. Part II. *Monotheistic religions*. I. Judaism. 7. The pre-Mosaic and Mosaic times. 8. The Prophets. II. Islamism. 9. Its Founder. 10. Its Doctrines and Mysti-

cism. III. Christianity. 11. Christ preaching the kingdom of heaven. 12. The infancy of Christian Doctrine.

Philosophie des Unbewussten. Versuch eine Weltanschauung von E. v. HARTMANN.

Das verbot der Ehe unerhalb der nahen Verwandtschaft nach der heiligen Schrift nach den Grundsätzen der christlichen Kirche dargestellt v. H. W. I. MIEBSCH.

Christus der Menschen und Gottessohn. Ein Erörterung der selbstbezeichnungen Jesu Christi in ihrer grundlegenden Bedeutung für die Christologie v. K. F. NÖGEL.

Die letzten Dinge unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Eschatologie Schliermacher nach der Lehre der heiligen Schrift dargestellt v. Dr. HER GERLACH.

Christliche Glaubenslehre nach protestantischen Grundsätzen dargestellt, von Dr. ALEX SWEIZER. II Band, I Altheil. The first volume of this important work was issued in 1863, presenting the general or introductory part, giving us, in addition to the matter that generally comes under the head of introduction, I, the utterance of the Christian consciousness respecting the fundamental principle of evangelical Christian faith; II, Elementary religious faith; III, Specific Christian faith, or the religion of redemption; and then, under the head, sect. 1, the economy of the Father. The present volume treats of the 2nd sect., or the economy of the Son. The 3d section, or 2nd part of the 2nd vol., will treat of the economy of the Holy Spirit, and close the system.

Sweizer considers it as a defect in the systems of Kahnis and Bredermann, that they have drawn in the history of Doctrine, and flatters himself that having already treated the historical part in other works, he is now free to develop his doctrines of faith in their simple doctrinal form. His method is to state the doctrines in a summary in continuous sections, and then to give his comments and proofs in small type under each section. Introduction. Sect. 111. "The religion of redemption has been presented in the economy of the Father according to its nature; it is now to be shown in the economy of the Son and of the Holy Spirit in its historical realization." Sect. 113. "Christology and Pneumatology have gone up from the dogmatic sphere to the ethical and religious, and thereby have solved an important problem of the Reformation." Chap. I. The person of Christ. Sect. 116. "The Christian pious consciousness experiences itself in its life of salvation as absolutely dependent on the heavenly Father, through Christ, the Son of God and only Mediator." 119. "In the historical Christ, redemptive love reveals itself as the kernel of his personality, whereas the highest characteristic of the heavenly Father has appeared in a human form in Christ, so that he is one with the Father." Chap. II. The work of Christ. Sect. 126. "Redemption is deliverance from the condemning religion of the law, and a vivifying (of the soul) by the principle of redemption which reveals itself perfectly in Christ. 1. His Prophetic office. 2. His Highpriestly office. 3. His Royal office.

Eschatologie dargestellt nach der Lehre der Katholischen Kirche, v. Dr. J. H. OSWALD. 2 verbesserte Auflage. This book has within a short time reached a second and greatly improved edition. It is published under the sanction of Episcopal authority, and has received commendation in the highest terms from the organ of the Theological Faculties of Bonn and Tübingen, so that it may be safely regarded as an authoritative exposition of Roman Catholic doctrine. The author is exceedingly interesting, clear in his style, is free from a polemic

spirit, and candidly admits that the peculiarities of Roman Catholic doctrine depend on tradition, and not on the Scriptures. Thus, of *purgatory* he says: "The doctrine of purgatory follows naturally from the Roman Catholic doctrine of justification." "It is not at all necessary, according to Roman Catholic principles, that any Christian doctrine, taken singly and apart from the whole system, should be proved from the Scriptures." So, in the doctrine of the intercession of the saints, he says: "This doctrine belongs to that class of doctrines which we attribute to tradition far more than to the Scriptures;" and again, under the invocation of the saints: "This doctrine is to be reckoned to those doctrines which rest on tradition." His system is: section I. The End, with reference to the Individual. 1. Death in its Eschatological aspects. 2. The Judgment in its relation to the individual. 3. Heaven. Blissful contemplation. Love and enjoyment of God. 4. Hell. Eternity and nature of its punishments. 5. Purgatory. Section II. The Union between this world and the next. The communion of saints. 1. Intercession of the saints. 2. Invocation of the saints. 3. Worship of the saints. 4. Adoration of sacred relics. 5. The religious use of sacred paintings. Appendix. Adoration of the Holy Cross. Section III. The Universal End. 1. The last day. The reappearance of Christ. Criticism of the doctrine of the visible rule of Christ on earth. 2. Resurrection of the body. Its reality and certainty; its universality. The identity of the resurrection body with the present. Nature of the resurrection body. Source, efficient cause, duration and place of the resurrection. Congruence and ethical efficiency of the doctrine of the resurrection. 3. The universal judgment and the end of the world.

Evangelische Praktische Theologie. I Band. Einleitung und die erbauenden Thätigkeiten, von Dr. W. OTTO. The author, who is director of the evangelical Theological Seminary at Herborn, has made himself known by several smaller treatises on various subjects in practical theology, which have excited hopes of a more extensive production. These he has realized in the present work, in which he presents practical theology in a systematic whole. The Introduction treats of the idea, history, and divisions of Practical Theology. "Practical Theology is the science of the administration of Christianity by the church. (Die kirchliche Pflege des Christenthums.)" This in two kinds of activities: (1) Edifying activities in church service. (2) Regulating activities in church order. This vol. treats of the first class. Part I. Service with the word. Section I. The proclamation of the gospel with a view to the formation of the congregation. I. Religious instruction of the young Catechetics. (1) Its idea, nature and necessity. (2) Its general requirements. It must be Scriptural, confessional, fundamental, comprehensive and acceptable. (3) its Contents. Sacred history and doctrine, Church history. (4) its Method. The course of instruction—the form, the language, the tone, the means, the delivery. II. Religious instruction of adults. Missionary instruction. Sect. II. The proclamation of the gospel with a view to the maintenance of the congregation. I. The discourse. Homiletics. (1) Its idea, nature, and necessity. (2) Its contents—as conditioned by the Holy Scriptures, the church, the congregation, and its own purpose. (3) Its form Scriptural, thoughtful, convincing. (4) Its language. (5) Delivery. II. Care of Souls. Pastoral Theology. (1) Its idea, necessity, and fundamental principles. (2) The care of souls in practical work in relation to Christian knowledge, conduct, experience. Part II. Service at the Altar.

Liturgics. Its idea and purpose, history, divisions. I. Initiatory services. (1) Baptism. (2) Confirmation. (3) Ordination. (4) Installation. (5) Dedication of sacred things. II. Services with the congregation. (1) Singing. (2) Reading of the Scriptures. (3) Confession. (4) Prayer. (5) Liturgical sentences. (6) The Lord's Supper. III. Services requiring the Benediction. (1) Marriage. (2) Burial. (3) Extraordinary occasions.

System der chrestlich-kirchlichen Katechetik v. C. A. G. v. ZEISCHWITZ. II Band. Die Lehre vom kirchlichen Unterricht nach stoff und. Methode. I. Abtheil Die Katechese oder die kirchliche Unterrichtsmethode. 1st Hälfte. Der akroamatisch-positive Bibel Unterricht; also under the title Der biblische Unterricht in der Volks-schule. This work is the result of great labor and learning, and will be the most thorough one on this subject. The 1st vol. appeared in 1863, treating of the "Katechumenal," or ecclesiastical training in its theory and history. The 1st section of the 2d vol. was issued in 1864, treating of the Catechism, or the subject matter of ecclesiastical instruction. The 2d section treats of Catechisation, or the method of ecclesiastical instruction. There are three methods. (1) The akroamatical-positive, which is authoritative, and on the basis of and in consistence with the form of divine revelation itself. This method is treated in the present volume. (2) The dialectical-didactical, which consists in a course of instruction by means of questions and answers. (3) The parenetical-teleological, which is by means of exhortation and devotional exercises. These last two will be treated in the concluding volume, soon to appear.

ART. X.—NOTES ON RECENT BOOKS.

THEOLOGY.

A Commentary on the Confession of Faith. With Questions for Theological Students and Bible Classes. By the REV. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER HODGE, D. D., Author of "The Atonement," and Professor of Didactic and Polemical Theology in the Western Theological Seminary of Allegheny, Pa. Presbyterian Board of Publication. 12mo. pp. 549. This work commands attention not only from the character and position of the author, but from the fact that it bears the imprint of the Board of Publication. The policy of its issue *by them* at this juncture in the history of the Presbyterian Church may by many be reasonably accounted questionable, and the more so, as some of the views which it maintains are not universally, if even very generally, accepted by large numbers whose adherence to the standards is unquestionable.

The greater portion of the volume is altogether unexceptionable. The statements are *generally* clear, and well sustained by appropriate Scriptural citations. Difficulties and objections, as in the case of the original creation and unity of the race, and the relation of God to a world in which sin exists, are judiciously met.

There are some things, however, which seem to us to indicate a theological bias not warranted by the Confession itself. The latter says, "Neither are any other redeemed by Christ, effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified and saved, but the elect only." Prof. Hodge gives this, "None but the elect are redeemed by Christ, or effectually called, etc. Many who hold as sound Presbyterians that Christ's redeeming work was "a propitiation for our sins,

and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world," could readily accept the statement in the very words of the Confession, that no others, "redeemed by Christ," are effectually called, etc., but the elect only, who would utterly reject the gloss put by Prof. Hodge upon the words.

Prof. Hodge very correctly says, speaking of the "Covenant of Redemption," and the "Covenant of Grace"—"Our standards say nothing of two Covenants, they do not mention the Covenant of Redemption as distinct from the Covenant of Grace." And yet he proceeds to a definite account of the Covenant as a Covenant of Redemption, stating, "The Scriptures make it very plain that the Father and Son had a definite understanding (a) as to who were to be saved, (b) as to what Christ must do in order to save them, (c) as to how their personal salvation was to be accomplished, and (d) as to all the blessings and advantages involved in their salvation, (e) as to certain official rewards which were to accrue to the mediator in consequence of his obedience."

Now, how far this is from the opinion of some of the "Fathers," whom Princeton and Allegheny must revere, and how impertinent it is to make such doctrine a standard of Presbyterian belief, by the official sanction of the Board of Publication, may be readily inferred from the words of Dr. Witherspoon. "For my own part," says he, "I fear to attempt to explain what is called the Covenant of Redemption, or to admit its existence. I fear it is humanizing too much our ideas of the divine nature, and presuming too far on our understanding the nature of the Trinity, and the transactions between its persons, if I may use that human phrase, thus to give form to their counsels, thus to apply to them, what, perhaps, can only be proper when applied to the affairs of men." Comment on the doctrinal authority of Prof. Hodge, or his harmony with Dr. Witherspoon, is superfluous.

There are other points upon which Prof. Hodge sets up an interpretation of the Confession to which similar objection might be taken, and in some instances he seems to be fairly befogged in his use of language. In attempting to explain the origin of sin, after Adam had been created holy, Prof. Hodge remarks, "The motives which appear to have led to this dreadful sin in the case of our first parents were not intrinsically sinful, but become so when dwelt upon and allowed gradually to occupy the mind and sway the will in despite of the divine prohibition. They were (1) natural appetite for the attractive fruit, (2) natural desire for knowledge, (3) the persuasive power of the superior mind and will of Satan. In this last fact, that, 3d, they were seduced thereto by the subtlety and temptation of Satan, much of the solution of this mystery lies."

And yet we are told, with such emphasis laid on the power and subtilty of Satan, that the motives leading to the apostacy of our first parents were "not intrinsically sinful," while the very idea of motive is utterly confounded by the incongruous use of the term, as well as its varied applications in the paragraph. And, moreover, the reader will be apt to inquire of what use is any attempt, especially this, to explain the origin of man's original transgression, if, "to the fall of Satan, etc., the true origin of sin is to be referred."

But we have already said more of the book than we intended. The fact that it bears the imprint of the Board, however, might be apology enough for a more extended criticism which the work invites. But to us the title of it

is not commendatory. A *Commentary* on the Bible has a familiar sound, and seems to carry weight with it as a reflection more or less direct of the mind of Christ. But a *Commentary* on the Confession suggests what is indirect refraction rather than reflection. It seems to elevate the Confession to a position parallel or rival with that of "the only rule of faith and practice." If the book is to go forth as representative of the doctrinal views of multitudes of Presbyterians, we should prefer, for the sake of the name that we share with them, that it should bear another title.

The Secret of Swedenborg. Being an Elucidation of his Doctrine of the Divine Natural Humanity. By HENRY JAMES. Fields, Osgood & Co. 8vo. pp. xv, 243. Mr. James is an enthusiastic disciple of Swedenborg, and the present work is a labored attempt to explain and vindicate his system of faith. He has evidently studied his writings with unusual care and thoughtfulness, and his "elucidation" of the cardinal principle of the system is able and philosophical. The "secret" of this wondrous revelation—the doctrine on which it all hinges, according to Mr. James, is the Divine *Natural Humanity*. He scouts the idea of any God unrevealed. His essential idea of God is our own spiritualized manhood, if we understand him: "I find myself incapable of honoring the pretension of any deity to my allegiance, who insists upon standing eternally aloof from my own nature, and by that fact confesses himself personally incommensurate and unsympathetic with my basest, most sensuous and controlling personal necessity. . . I can no longer bring myself to adore a characteristic activity in the God of my worship, which falls below the secular average of human character. In fact, what I crave with all my heart, is no longer a Sunday but a week-day divinity, a working God, grimy with the dust and sweat of our most carnal appetites and passions, and bent not for an instant upon inflating our worthless pietistic righteousness, but upon the patient, toilsome, thorough cleansing of our physical and moral existence. . . And no clear revelation do I get of such a God outside the personality of Jesus Christ." And yet he rejects the divinity of Christ as "intensely accidental and no way incidental to his ineffably tempted, suffering, and yet victorious spiritual manhood." The only God whom Mr. James, taught by Swedenborg, recognizes and worships, is the *humanity* of Christ—"a divine natural humanity;" divine in the Unitarian sense only—and the whole of Christianity is the incarnation of this "victorious spiritual manhood" in our nature—and hence "the ineffable divine sanctity of our natural bodies, not only in all the compass of their appetites and passions, but down even to their literal flesh and bones." "The church maintains a jealous profession of the Divinity of Christ, and fills the earth with the most artfully reiterate and melodious invocation of his name; but when it comes practically to interpret this divinity and apply it to men's living needs, the result turns out a contemptible quackery, inasmuch as this alleged union of the divine and human natures endows us helpless partakers of the latter nature with no privilege toward God, but leaves us, unless we are consecrated by some absurd ecclesiastical usage, as far from the sheltering divine arms as any worshiper of Jupiter or the Syrian Astarte. . . Spiritual Christianity means the complete secularization of the divine name, or its identification henceforth only with man's common or natural want . . so that I may never aspire to the divine

favor and scarcely to the divine tolerance, save in my social or redeemed natural aspect."

"Such is the intellectual secret of Swedenborg," according to our author. And in such a faith he professes to have found great peace of mind! For ourselves we discover neither reason nor Scripture in it. Mr. James' "elucidation" certainly has not increased our faith in or respect for it.

Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Edited after SPELMAN and WILKINS by A. W. HADDAN and WM. STUBBS. Vol. I. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1869. Wilkins' *Concilia Mag. Brit. et Hibern.* 4 vols. fol., 1737, is now a rare and costly book (selling for about £16); and besides it needs reediting. This task has been well discharged by Mr. Haddan, who has recast the materials, omitted much and added somewhat, and brought the whole into a more satisfactory and useful shape, in better agreement with the present results of historical criticism. Thus, the fable about the conversion of King Lucius, and of his correspondence with Pope Eleutherius, is fitly put into an appendix—where it is shown that it originated in Rome in the 5th or 6th century, (that is, some 300 years after the alleged date); that it was not known in England until Bede's time—the 8th century. The whole evidence, in fact, of the existence of a British Church in the second century is given up as unhistorical.

The management of the materials is not strictly chronological—so as to avoid the mixing up of Welsh, Scottish and Irish Documents with the Anglo-Saxon and Norman. The distribution is in 4 sections: 1. The British Church during the Roman Period. 2. During the Saxon Period. 3. The Church of Wales during the Saxon and Norman Periods. 4. The Church of Cornwall in the Saxon Period. The first volume brings the collection down to the 13th century.

The work is no mere reproduction of Spelman & Wilkins; it is substantially new, so far as arrangement, criticism and usefulness are concerned. It is very carefully edited and printed; one of the best of recent ecclesiastical productions in England. The second volume will contain the early Scottish and Irish Documents: these two are edited by Mr. Haddan; the third and fourth vols. by Prof. Stubbs, will complete the Saxon period.

Studies in Philosophy and Theology. By JOSEPH HAVEN, D. D., Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 12mo., pp. 502. The majority of these essays have already been published in the *Bibliotheca Saera*, and have justly attracted the attention of scholarly readers. Prof. Haven is a clear and vigorous thinker, and he here grapples with some of the profoundest themes of human thought, and discusses them with marked ability, and, generally, in a satisfactory manner. The subjects are: Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, Mill versus Hamilton, The Moral Faculty, Province of Imagination in Sacred Oratory, The Ideal and the Actual, Natural Theology, The Doctrine of the Trinity, Theology as a Science, Place and Value of Miracles in the Christian System, Sin as related to Human Nature and the Divine Mind, Arianism, The Natural Development of the Views held by the Early Church Fathers.

BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Bibliorum sacrorum Græcus Codex Vaticanus, auspice Pio IX. Pontifice Maximo, collatis studiis Caroli Vercellone sodalis Barnabitar et Josephi Cozza m.machi Basiliani editus. Carolum Vercellone excepit Caietanum Sergio sodalis Barnabites. Romæ, typis et impensis s. congregationis de propaganda fide, curante Eg. Marietti socio admin. Anno MDCCCLXIX. Pgg. 270 fol. (Tomus primus, complectens Pentateuchum et librum Josue).

In our April number we gave a notice of the fifth volume of this work (the one first published), containing the text of the New Testament, and also of the rival edition by Tischendorf, with an abstract of his critical examination of the Roman edition.

The first volume has now come to hand, containing the text of the Pentateuch and of the book of Joshua. We have space only for a brief notice of it. It is printed, as was the fifth volume, with types cast in imitation of the characters of the Sinaitic manuscript, though the editors still speak of it, in their dedication to Pope Pius IX., as *simillimis literarum formis expressum*. In a work of such magnitude, and intended, as expressed by the Pontiff in his Apostolic benediction, "for the advancement of science and the honor of this Holy See and City" (*in scientiæ profectum decoremque Sanctæ hujus Sedis atque Urbis*), it might well have been expected that the expense of a font, cast in imitation of the characters of the manuscript itself, would not have been spared. In this volume, Caietanum Sergio succeeds Cardinal Vercellone in the editorial charge of the work.

The volume commences with the editors' dedication to Pope Pius IX., and the Pontiff's benediction on them and their work. Then follows the Greek text of the Codex, to the end of Joshua, with a brief index to the books contained in the volume. No notes, or explanations, accompany the work.

The text of the ancient manuscript now commences with the word *καλειν*, in the twenty-eighth verse of the forty-sixth chapter of Genesis. The preceding lost portion of the book is supplied in the Codex by a modern manuscript of about the sixteenth century. This the Roman editors have quite needlessly prefixed, in modern Greek type, to the remaining text of the ancient manuscript. We say needlessly; because it is of no value in itself, and because, if added for the purpose of giving the whole contents of the Codex, the object is defeated by the omission in the New Testament of the Pastoral Epistles, which are also supplied in the Codex by a modern manuscript.*

A comparison of a few pages with Cardinal Mai's professed copy suffices to illustrate his false conception of the nature of his task, and especially his desire to make a *readable* text, which induced him to admit into the line of the text superscribed or marginal corrections and additions; sometimes noted as such in his margins, or in the table of *castiganda vel supplenda* at the end of the volume, and sometimes passed unnoticed.

In the manuscript, omissions of the first copyist are supplied (in one instance to the extent of six lines, rarely of three or four) in the margins, and between the lines or columns. But the first draft was much more carefully made than that of the Sinaitic manuscript, in which, on a single page, as shown in the *Codex Friderico-Augustanus*, the upper, lower, and side margins are sometimes loaded with matter omitted in the first draft.

* The lost portion of Genesis was supplied in Cardinal Mai's edition from older manuscripts of more critical value.

This volume adds much to our knowledge of the text of the Vatican manuscript, the basis of the current text of the Greek version of the Seventy. But it is impossible to compare this so-called *fac-simile* with the admirable reproduction of the text itself of a portion of the Sinaitic manuscript, the part first discovered by Tischendorf and published by him in actual *fac-simile* in the *Codex Friderico-Augustanus*, without deeply regretting that so much should be expended on this costly work, with comparatively so little fruit.

The price of the volume in this country is forty dollars, in gold. T. J. C.

The Epistle of Paul to the Romans. By J. P. LANGE, D. D., and the Rev. F. R. FAY. Translated from the German by J. F. HUEST, D. D., with additions by Philip SCHAFF, D. D., and Rev. M. B. RIDDLE. Charles Scribner & Co. 8vo. pp. 455. Every Christian scholar must rejoice at the rapid progress which this great Biblical work is making toward completion, as well as in the well-sustained character of the execution. This is the 8th vol published, and three more, completing the New Testament, and another embracing Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Solomon, are in preparation. Combining the best results of all former exegetical labors, and having enlisted so many of the ripest scholars of Europe and America in perfecting and completing the work, it not surprising that its superiority to all other commentaries should be so universally conceded.

The Epistle to the Romans is the very heart of the doctrinal portion of the New Testament—the great bulwark of the evangelical doctrines of sin and grace. Coleridge pronounced it “the most profound work in existence.” Meyer, the ablest philological exegete of the age, calls it the “grandest, the boldest, and, in all its depths and heights, the most complete composition of the greatest apostle.” But it is one of the most difficult parts of the Bible to explain; and hence it is the great battlefield for theologians.

Dr. Lange's Commentary appeared first in 1855 in a small and closely printed volume. The American editors have added nearly *one-half* of new matter, from the best English and American commentators, who, as Dr. Schaff expresses it, “are sublimely ignored by continental commentators as if exegesis had never crossed the English Channel, much less the Atlantic Ocean.”

Dr. Hurst, a thorough German scholar, and well known by his *History of Rationalism* and other works, is responsible for the translation, (which was an unusual difficult task) and for the homiletical selections from the best English sources. Dr. Schaff is responsible for the General and Special Introduction, which are lengthy and able, and for the first six chapters, which cover about half the volume. The remaining part was prepared by Mr. Riddle, of Newark, N. J., an excellent German and Biblical scholar, who has done his part most conscientiously, and with that rare and noble enthusiasm which is indispensable to the successful completion of so severe and difficult a task.

The New Testament; or the Book of the Holy Gospel of our Lord and our God, Jesus the Messiah. A literal translation from the Syriac-Peshito version. By JAMES MURDOCK, D. D. Robert Carter & Brothers. 8vo. pp. ix, 515. This new edition of a most valuable work is brought out in good style, on very white paper and in clear type. Not only preachers and theologians should possess it, but all who wish to understand the Holy Scriptures. This venerable version differs but little, as every scholar knows, from our common English version, but it often presents the meaning in new and perspicuous language,

and throws much light on obscure and difficult passages. The translation is literal and exact. The books are divided into paragraphs, as in Campbell's translation of the Gospels, and in the Greek Testaments of Bengel, Griesbach and Knapp. The divisions into chapters and verses are noted in the margins, and the most important Syriac words are also given. A careful study and comparison of this version with our own will prove a highly interesting and useful service to the Bible student.

Jeremiah, and his Lamentations; with Notes, critical, explanatory and practical, designed for both Pastor and People. By HENRY COWLES, D. D. D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 431. We have noticed in this REVIEW some of the former works of Prof. Cowles. He has written on *The Minor Prophets*, on *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*, and on *Isaiah*, and the present volume completes the series on the Old Testament prophets. His notes are brief, sensible, pertinent, many of them practical and impressive. There is appended to this volume a special Dissertation on the system of opinions on prophecy currently known as the Premillennial Advent of Christ, in which the author gives, in brief space, the best analysis of that system which we recollect to have seen, and shows clearly and strikingly its antagonism to the Bible.

The Four Gospels: Translated from the Greek Text of Tischendorf, with the various readings of Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Meyer, Alford, and others; and with critical and explanatory Notes. By NATHANIEL S. FOLSOM. A. Williams & Co. (Boston). 12mo. pp. 476. We trust the time will come, when, by a happy combination of the best critical scholarship of the age, our common version of the New Testament will receive the benefit of any improved readings suggested by the most ancient and important of all the MSS. of the New Testament. Tischendorf's labors in this department, and the publication of the *Codex Vaticanus*, elsewhere noticed in this Review, will do much to prepare the way for so delicate and important a service. But in the name of modesty, and of our common Christianity, let us not have as many new versions as there are individual scholars ambitious to perform such a task, or sects or schools anxious to engraft their dogmas or peculiarities upon the sacred text. Hence we can not, on general grounds, look with favor on the present attempt. As a matter of taste we prefer, for the most part, the common version to the "modern style" of this new translation. We differ from the translator in believing that "the ancient style is one of the occasions of an increasing neglect of the New Testament amongst those trained almost wholly under the influence of modern literature." Commend us to our Common Version for "pure English undefiled." Are such changes in the spelling of familiar proper names an improvement—"Bethzatha" for Bethesda; "Kapharnaum" for Capernaum, etc? Will our critical readers accept as a better rendering of Matt. x. 16? "Be wary as serpents and unsoiled as doves." Making the text of Tischendorf's the basis of this version, and availing himself of his eminent critical labors, as well as those of Griesbach, Tregelles, Myers, Alford and others, Mr. Folsom has given us improved renderings in some instances beyond a doubt. But the scholar will greatly prefer Tischendorf, with his latest readings, to his translator into modern English.

The notes are mainly critical. "the chief object of which is to sustain and illustrate the translation." Still, the reader is not left in doubt as to what

school of interpreters and body of professing disciples the author belongs. His views, so far as we have examined them, are, as might have been expected, of the most "liberal" type. Thus we turn to the temptation of Jesus in the Wilderness, so ably and admirably treated of by Dr. von Oosterzee in the body of this Review, and we find only the boldest Rationalistic interpretation. There was no personal tempter. Jesus had tempting thoughts suggested to his mind by the circumstances under which he was placed, and he overcame them. "There came to him, as there comes to all souls, a season of depression . . . and he asked himself, Art thou the Son of God?" That was the whole of it. No sharp personal conflict of spirit with spirit for the mastery; no actual encounter of the Son of Man with the Devil, whose works he came to destroy. We turn to his notes on Matt. xxv, 31-46. All the language of this solemn and tremendous event is "metaphorical." The only judgment here described ["its very processes and results"] "are still going on, and will go on from age to age." *Eternal* is used as an "indefinite length of duration." "Everlasting punishment," and "life eternal" do not mean here what orthodox Christendom has believed and taught in all ages. "The 'punishment' will last as long as the sin shall last; and the 'life' too will last as long, and only as long, as the character on which it depends shall last. It yields substantially the same results, if the word 'eternal' be taken in the sense of that which is beyond the limits of time."

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

The Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812; or Illustrations by pen and pencil of the Biography, Scenery, Relics and Traditions of the Last War for American Independence. By BENSON J. LOSSING. Harper & Bros. 8vo. pp. 1084. This large and elegant volume is got up in the very best style of the Harper press. The paper, letter-press, engravings and binding, leave nothing to be desired. The amount of matter in it is also surprising, and all of it bearing on the subject in hand, and a large part of it was gathered by almost incredible pains-taking on the part of the author. He has visited every place of historic interest connected with the War of 1812, making himself familiar with the topography and incidents of its battlefields, gaining all possible information from the actors in it, and gathering everything of value as matter of history or illustration. The result of his labors and researches is given in this volume, which is a worthy compendium to his "Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution," and is a continuation of the history of our country from the close of the Revolution in 1783 to the end of the War with Great Britain in 1815.

The pictorial feature of Lossing's histories is certainly unique, and imparts no little interest and value to them. We have here nearly 900 engravings of portraits, maps, autographs, battlefields, historic buildings, and scenery, admirably executed, for the most part, by Lossing and Barritt, chiefly from original sketches by the author. They constitute a history of themselves; and Mr. Lossing is certainly deserving of praise for his patient and indefatigable labor in gathering and putting into enduring form these memorials which were fast passing into decay or oblivion. The volume is a delightful one to read, so abounding with incident, and anecdote, and description, and illustration; and it is, at the same time, a valuable contribution to American history.

The History of Civilization. By AMOS DEAN, L. L. D. In Seven Volumes. Vol. IV and V. Albany: Joel Munsell. 8vo. pp. 500, 517. We have already commended this work to the favorable attention and the patronage of our readers in connection with the first three volumes of the History. The publisher evinces not only good taste in the superior style in which it is produced, but commendable enterprise in carrying it so rapidly through the press. Two volumes more will complete the work, which, both in artistic and literary point of view, will be a valuable acquisition to any library.

The present volumes are devoted to MODERN OR EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION, in which the author passes in review the history of Europe, its Industry, its Religion, and its Government. To the student of civilization this is a broad, varied, intensely exciting and instructive subject to discuss. Behind him are the ruins of its ancient forms. Before him rises up a new world of art, philosophy, government, religion, social life. What, thus far have been the tendencies of the race? What great lessons has the Past to teach? What laws, if any, have governed in the development of mankind? What new forms is civilization likely to put on in the advancing career of the ages? Is our boasted modern civilization really superior to the Greek, and Roman, and Egyptian, and Aryan, of which each once ruled the earth in turn, but now are all dead, with scarce a memorial of one of them left? Is perfectibility possible in a world cursed by sin and in a nature lapsed and fallen from its primal integrity? What are the tendencies of the new forces and activities at work upon modern society, as regards man's final development and destiny? Is an Atheistic science—resolving all religious beliefs and God himself into natural laws or forces, or an energized and triumphant Christianity—the outgrowth and consummation of a supernatural revelation and a Divine Incarnation in our humanity—the goal we are at last to reach?

These, and other startling questions of a similar kind, will start up in the mind of the thoughtful student as he takes up these volumes; and they will aid him materially in the solution of them. We are more and more interested in this work as it progresses.

Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern. By JOHN LAWRENCE VON MOSHEIM, D. D. Translated by JAMES MURDOCK, D. D. In Three Volumes. 8vo. Robt. Carter & Bros. The standard character of this History is known to all our readers. As a text-book it is needed by all our theological students, and should be in every well-furnished library. We are glad to see a new edition of it, in three handsome volumes, on good paper, and neatly bound in cloth, at the very low price of \$5. The lowest price heretofore has been \$7.50. Our publishers are doing good service to the cause of Christian learning in bringing out, as many of them are doing, cheaper editions of works indispensable to theological students and ministers of the gospel. We trust there will be such a response to this movement as will encourage them to persevere in it.

Walter Savage Landor. A Biography. By JOHN FORSTER. In eight Books. Fields, Osgood & Co. 8vo. pp. 603. The biography of Landor by so able a man as John Forster can not be otherwise than a valuable contribution to English literature. True, the volume is a bulky one, and many

who would like to read it will be deterred from doing so for this reason. And we think much of the matter might have been left out, and other portions curtailed, with advantage to the work as a whole. It is an impartial and candid, as well as full and somewhat tedious, account of the gifted man and author. His faults and weaknesses are sketched with freedom, and with no attempt at palliation; and some of them certainly were glaring and contemptible. The impression the book makes concerning his character is doubtless a truthful one, but it is not on the whole a flattering one. The portions which relate to Landor's writings are, to us, the most interesting and valuable part of the volume.

Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson, Barrister-at-Law, F. S. A. Selected and Edited by THOMAS SADLER, Ph. D. Fields, Osgood & Co. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. xxiii, 496, vii, 555. From advanced sheets. Mr. Robinson was not himself a literary character, but practiced his profession and lived to a very advanced age to enjoy the competence which it brought him. His tastes, however, were literary, and, possessing great conversational power, he became the intimate friend and associate of many of the most distinguished men and women of his times, in the world of English, French and German letters. Possessing also the Boswell faculty, united to a wonderful industry, he kept a full record of his conversations with them, and treasured up all the interesting anecdotes and reminiscences which related to them. This diary, begun in 1811 and continued till within five days of his death, which occurred in 1867, embraces 35 closely written volumes. There are also about 30 volumes more of his journals of travel, besides a vast amount of Reminiscences, Letters and Miscellaneous papers. Out of this mass of material, the Editor has selected what comprises these volumes; and he could hardly fail to make them rich in all the elements of this kind of literature. The reader, who will be at the pains to go over these bulky volumes, will be well paid for his trouble. It is a work to which no brief review can do justice.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Greater Britain. A Record of Travel in English-speaking Countries during 1866 and 1867. By CHARLES WENTWORTH DILKE. With Maps and Illustrations. Harper & Bros. 12mo. pp. 561. The author of this book is a "live Yankee," whether to the manor born or not. He evidently traveled with his eyes wide open; saw everything; studied humanity under every phase and condition, and guessed at his conclusions, many of them novel and sweeping. He presents facts without number, and many of them startling enough, and philosophizes upon them boldly and with great self-assurance. His pictures of American life are vivid, if not flattering. He believes our chief cities are essentially Roman Catholic. But this approximates the truth only in a *political* sense. He visited Mormonism but saw only the upper crust of that world of corruption, and carried away too favorable an impression. Mr. Dilke is certainly a lively if not a brilliant writer, and managed to see a great deal in his travels that is worth the telling; but he is no philosopher; his book is highly entertaining, but it has no value for the political or social economist.

Her Majesty's Tower. By WILLIAM HEPWORTH DIXON. Harper & Brothers: 12mo. pp. 263. Mr. Dixon is a literary artist of no mean power, and he has

produced in this volume a series of vigorously drawn sketches of important characters in English history associated with this renowned prison. It is a book fitted to make one sigh over human ambition and disappointment and suffering.

Sights and Sensations in France, Germany, and Switzerland, or Experiences of an American Journalist in Europe. By EDWARD GOULD BUFFUM. Harper & Bros. 12mo. pp. 310. The author of this pleasant volume won considerable reputation as a journalist, chiefly on the Pacific coast, and in the capitals of western Europe, where he spent the last ten years of his life, as correspondent of a leading New York journal. The volume is written in an easy and graceful style, and contains perhaps more than a modicum of the kind of information which one would seek in going abroad. The chapter on the Mont Cenis Tunnel, which has already appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* (London), is an exceedingly interesting sketch. The same may be said of the chapter on the Baths and Gaming-Tables of Hombourg.

Five Acres too Much. By ROBERT B. ROOSEVELT. Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 296. The author confesses that he was led to write this book from reading "Ten Acres Enough," and we suspect from the ironical and humorous tone of the book that he belongs to that class of amateur farmers who find more poetry than profit in rural investments. As that presented the "poetical" side of rural life and amateur farming rather prominently, Mr. Roosevelt deals more in the "practical." His "Flushing five acres" secured, and "a class book of botany, a recipe from Prof. Mapes, a few cuttings of some wonderful new berry, and Bridgman's 'Gardener's Assistant,'" bought, and he set up farming; with what delightful experiences and profitable results the reader can easily imagine; if not, the book will enlighten him to his entire satisfaction. The book will be of use as an offset to the multitude of poetic and visionary books on scientific farming, and the attractions of the country, which allure many only to deceive and injure them in pocket.

The Symbolism of Freemasonry. By ALBERT G. MACKEY, M. D. New York: Clark & Maynard. 12mo. pp. 364. Beautifully printed on tinted paper, this book makes a good show. It is a learned and exhaustive treatise, written in a pleasing and scholarly style, and must be regarded as a valuable contribution to the literature of this ancient fraternity. The author first investigates the origin and history of the institution, and then elaborately illustrates and explains its science and philosophy, its legends, myths, and symbols. He argues that the external ceremonies, which are ever subject to variations, are not essential to Freemasonry—that it is "a science of morality, veiled in allegory, and illustrated by symbols." The unity of God and the immortality of the soul, he contends, constitute the philosophy of Freemasonry. The "profane," as the uninitiated are called, may learn the secrets of the order from the work, and much beside that is worth knowing.

Three Seasons in European Vineyards. By WILLIAM I. FLAGG. Harper & Bro's. 12mo. pp. 332. While this volume is of special value to those interested in the grape-culture, it is not without interest to the general reader. The author has examined carefully and extensively the vineyards of Europe, and here gives the results of his investigations, both in a theoretical and practical point of view. The volume is full of information bearing on vine-culture, vine disease,

and its cause, wine-making and wines, and wine-drinking, as affecting health and morals. Interspersed with this information are notes of travel, some of them readable and others not. As to the effect of wine-drinking on health and morals we totally differ from the author. Stern facts are against his assertions. "Owing to the presence of red coloring matter in the wine" which he freely imbibes, the benefits of its free and general use "look more rosy-hued" to him than the truth would warrant. Alas for us as a nation, if we are all to plant vineyards and drink of the wine as Mr. Flagg urges—"you and your wife and little ones; drink it for breakfast, drink it for dinner, drink it for supper; drink it in short whenever you are dry, or wet, or cold, or tired." "Thus can you obtain in abundance a purer drink than water, a cheaper drink than Sangaree water, and a healthier one than any. Thus may you bring tranquility and cheerfulness beneath your roof-tree, and contentment and affection to your fireside—live a merry life, and die a good old man."

Inventus Mundi. The Gods and Men of the Homeric Age. By the RT. HON. WM. EWART GLADSTONE. Law, Macmillan & Co. 1869. Mr. Gladstone seems to have prepared for his last great Political campaign by revising and condensing his *Studies on Homer*, bringing them within the compass of a single volume. The minute and sometimes prolix investigations of the earlier volumes are omitted, and the whole is recast in a much more readable form, better adapted especially to the learner and general reader. Here, as in the previous work, Homer is still viewed as a great store-house of knowledge: "the song of Homer is historic song. Indeed, he has probably told us more about the World and its inhabitants at his own epoch than any historian that ever lived." This is the theme of the book—and it is well and thoroughly worked out—though not without occasional conclusions which are quite conjectural. Mr. Gladstone has not escaped the common fate of enthusiastic scholars; he finds what he seeks—a mere name sometimes leads him to large generalizations and equivocal results.

He finds in Homer's 27,000 lines, not only the history of his times, but also the links which connect Achaia with the East; and in the Olympian divinities he recognizes the *Vestigia* of an earlier and purer faith—even more explicitly than any found in the Hebrew Scriptures of the same date. Zeus, Athene and Apollo seem to him to stand apart from all the deities of the Greek Pantheon; Apollo springs from a mortal mother—born of God, yet the seed of the woman, transfixing the Serpent, and delivering from the power of death. In these and other points, messianic elements are supposed to be found even in Homer's songs. But, at the best, these are only fragmentary hints, and can not be worked up into a consistent scheme. Yet, such speculations may help us in the study of these grand old poems, and also serve to show that there is a certain common deposit or fund in the religious history of the race, so that a philosophy of religion becomes possible. Every student will read this *Youth of the World* with interest and profit. When will American statesmen, in the midst of their toils, also spend their leisure moments in such refreshing and elevating classical pursuits? The Earl of Derby and Mr. Gladstone are conspicuous examples of the high value of such unselfish studies. By reposing the mind they give it strength.

The Subjection of Women. By JOHN STUART MILL. D. Appleton & Co.

12mo. pp. 188. In our last issue we noticed Dr. Bushnell's able work, "Women's Suffrage; the Reform against Nature," and now we have a counter blast from over the water. With much of the reasoning of Mr. Mill's book we accord; and no one will dispute with him the propriety of opening to woman spheres in which she may compete with man, and vindicate her capacity; indeed Dr. Bushnell concedes all that Mr. Mill claims on this score. The work is better adapted to English sentiment than to ours, for in this country we are far in advance of England in giving rights to women. The constant wail of our women agitators over "the slavery of woman" in this land and age, is a stupendous farce, as every sane man and woman knows. The legislation of many of our states gives every right to woman except in the domain of politics. And everywhere new spheres of labor are open to her; and never was her influence more potential in society than in this age and land of ours.

Mr. Mill holds: "That the principle which regulates the existing social relations between the sexes—the legal subordination of one sex to the other—is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement; and that it ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, admitting no power or privilege on the one side, nor disability on the other." But in our judgment he fails to prove this. His argument is specious, and it is strongly put, and earnestly and eloquently enforced, but it is neither Scriptural nor philosophical, while all history and experience are against it. It certainly is not Scriptural, for the very thing which he condemns as "wrong in itself"—the subjection of woman—is clearly and emphatically taught in both the Old Testament and the New. It is not philosophical, for the argument is a partial and superficial one; it ignores the fundamental law of sex, and excludes much that is essential to a complete and satisfactory adjustment of the question. And to assert that the practical recognition of the Scripture doctrine of woman's subject nature "is now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement," is a flat contradiction of history; for when and where has society made the greatest progress? Has it not been when and where the social and religious institutes of the Bible have been most widely and reverently obeyed? We are aware that to Mr. Mill, and to many of the leaders in the attempt to reform society, the Bible is utterly discarded; but, thank God, its sure and steady light still shines in our world, and will continue to radiate the sphere of man's duty and destiny when the taper lights of human science and philosophy have all gone out in darkness.

The Literature of the Age of Elizabeth. By EDWIN P. WHIPPLE. Fields, Osgood & Co. 12mo. pp. 364. These essays were originally delivered as lectures before the Lowell Institute in 1859, and were subsequently printed in *The Atlantic Monthly* during the years 1867 and 1868. Such a theme in the hands of such a master can scarcely fail to afford both pleasure and profit. The "Literature of the Age of Elizabeth" denotes that splendid era in literature which commenced about the middle of her reign, in 1580, reached its maturity in the reign of James I., between 1603 and 1626, and perceptibly declined during the reign of his son. It embraced Marlowe, Shakspeare, Ben Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, Massinger, Ford, Spencer; among the minor Dramatists, Heywood, Middleton, Marston, Dekkar, Webster and Chapman; and among the minor Poets, Phineas and Giles Fletcher,

Daniel Drayton, Warren, Donne, Davies, Hall, Wotton, and Herbert, with such other names as Sidney, Raleigh, Bacon and Hooker—all of which are passed in review in the pages of this deeply interesting volume.

Reminiscences of James A. Hamilton; or Men and Events, at Home and Abroad, during three-quarters of a century. Charles Scribner & Co. 8vo. pp. 647. The author of this goodly volume is a son of the distinguished Alexander Hamilton, and was induced to undertake it, he says, "by a desire to do justice to his father against the aspersions of Mr. Jefferson, and more recently of Martin Van Buren, in his 'Inquiry into the Origin of Political Parties of the United States.'" Intimate with his father's cotemporaries, officers of the War of the Revolution, members of the government, and his associates, members of the Bar of New York, and extending through so long and so eventful a period of our national history, these "Reminiscences" can not fail to possess a high degree of interest to the general reader, and no little value as furnishing materials for a just appreciation of character and an impartial and reliable history of our government.

The Wedding Day in All Ages and Countries. By EDWARD J. WOOD. Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 299. A learned and interesting work, embodying much curious information and ancient lore regarding the customs of different ages and nations on the subject of marriage.

Rhetoric: A Text-Book designed for Use in Schools and Colleges, and for Private Study. By Rev. E. O. HAVEN, D. D., LL. D., President of the University of Michigan. pp. xiii, 381. New York: Harper & Brothers. This work is less original and philosophical than Prof. Day's, and others that we might mention. One thing, however, that will commend it to many is its brevity. The author aims to present the pith of the matter in comparatively small compass, and to illustrate his teaching by a few pertinent examples, chosen with care and judgment. It is not a philosophical treatise on Rhetoric, but simply a text-book for practical use.

The Intelligence of Animals, with Illustrative Anecdotes. From the French of ERNEST MENAULT. C. Scribner & Co. 16mo. pp. 370. This is the fourth volume in the series of "Illustrated Library of Wonders," which this House is publishing. Like the previous ones, it is aptly and generously illustrated. It treats of the marvels of animal intelligence scientifically, and yet in a popular way. A mass of facts, many of them curious and striking, gathered from the most eminent naturalists of the world, are here presented, going to show a high degree of intelligence in the animal creation, as well as illustrative of their habits, and establishing also the fact that, with few exceptions, they form communities like mankind. The series thus far is certainly one of extraordinary interest, absolutely fascinating alike to young and old.

Our New Way Round the World. By CHARLES CARLETON COFFIN. Freely illustrated. Fields, Osgood & Co. 8vo. pp. 524. We regard this as one of the most readable and instructive books of travel that we have lately read. It appears, too, at a most opportune time. The last rail between the Atlantic and Pacific has been laid; in a few months the waters of the Mediterranean and Red Seas will mingle together through the Suez

Canal, and the Railway connecting Bombay and Calcutta will complete a new way for commerce and for travel round the world. Already parties have left our midst to compass the earth by railway and steamer. To any who contemplate such a voyage, this book will possess special interest. Europe is so well known that the author contents himself with barely indicating the lines of travel between London and Alexandria. But his notes of observation along the route in Egypt, India, Malacca, China, Japan and California are full and trustworthy. The general reader will be interested in the book. The author is a keen and practical observer, and an easy and graceful writer. We thank him for the manly and generous testimony he bears respecting the character and labors of our American missionaries whom he met, and with whom he freely mingled in India.

The Seven Curses of London. By JAMES GREENWOOD. A paper edition by Harper & Bro's; and a regular book edition by Fields, Osgood & Co. The author's former works in this line have made his name as famous as Mayhew's once was. He has thoroughly explored the low life of London, and writes about it in a way to interest and affect profoundly in the right direction the public mind. The world of poverty and suffering, shame and crime, which he reveals in all its terrible and revolting forms, while disgusting to the sight, is one which our philanthropists, political economists, and the Christian church, must know, and study, and seek, more wisely and earnestly than they have yet done, to reach and reform, or these great festering sores will in time taint the very air we breathe and corrupt society to its core.

Mr. Greenwood furnished to *Hours at Home*, last year, (the popular and valuable monthly magazine published by Charles Scribner & Co.) a series of papers on London Life quite as interesting as any found in this volume, and better adapted to popular reading. We marvel that neither of these sharp publishers should have secured them and embraced them in this volume. It would have added vastly to its interest.

Diomedes: from the Iliad of Homer. By WILLIAM R. SMITH. D. Appleton & Co. This is the first instalment of a new translation of the Iliad by an American scholar. That the author has bestowed upon it much pains and labor is evident, making it worthy the attention of scholars. He indulges at times in paraphrase in the way of expansion, which he claims is inevitable, by the rhyming mode of rendering Homer into English. Scholars will differ as to its comparative merits; but all will agree that it is a praise-worthy beginning, and desire its completion.

Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Prison Association of New York, and Accompanying Documents for 1868. 8vo. pp. 672. This is probably the most comprehensive and exhaustive Annual Report ever presented by any Society. It has been prepared, also, with great pains-taking, and in a most conscientious spirit, and is, for the most part, the work of the indefatigable Secretary of the Society—Dr. Wines. Topics of vital importance are discussed and a mass of valuable facts presented, connected with the subject of Prison Discipline, which are profoundly interesting in themselves and in their relations to the welfare of society. The volume contains, in addition to the usual Reports, essays on

a variety of topics—some thirty in all—intimately related to the work in which the Society is engaged, in which the views of different minds are submitted, and various theories and plans are discussed, and the results of extended examination and experience are given. So thorough and able a Report on the subject, at a time when public opinion is fast undergoing a radical change—whether for the better or the worse remains to be seen—is deserving of a more careful attention and study than we fear it will receive.

PRACTICAL RELIGION.

Sermons preached in St. James' Chapel, York Street, London, by the Rev. STOFFORD A. BROOKE, M. A., Honorary Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. Fields, Osgood & Co. 12mo. pp. 323.

Sermons preached at Trinity Chapel, Brighton, by Rev. FREDERICK W. ROBERTSON, M. A. Two vols. Popular edition. Same publishers. The author of the first of these volumes of sermons is already known on this side the water by the "Life and Letters of Rev. Frederick W. Robertson," of precious memory, which he edited. He enjoys at home likewise the reputation of an able preacher. But we must confess our disappointment in looking through the volume. In the 25 sermons which are here given, there is not one in any way remarkable, judged by the American standard of pulpit talent. They are simple in style, and orthodox and evangelical in teaching, but they strike us as superficial and common-place. There is not much vigor of thought, or depth or breadth of view, in them. They lack most of the elements which make Robertson's Sermons so suggestive and inspiring. We take exception to some of the author's views in the sermon on "Angelic Life in connection with Man." The appearance of angels in the form of men, to Abraham, Lot and others, he holds to be merely "practical or mythical representations of some real occurrence, or of some spiritual truth. We find these stories always in the shadowy land of early history. As the world grows older, and we learn to discredit our senses more and more as giving us actual truth, these stories pass out of credit, so far as they claim an outward reality. . . . The whole account of Abraham's intercession with the Lord is probably a poetic account of a real spiritual struggle in Abraham's soul, the embodiment in words of the questions and replies of a passionate prayer." On this principle it seems to us an easy task to undermine the inspiration and historical verity of the entire Scriptures.

We welcome a new and popular edition of the Sermons of Mr. Robertson. He was a preacher of rare powers, both mental and spiritual. His sermons have produced a powerful impression on both sides the ocean. For earnestness of purpose, fervency of spirit, originality of thought, depth of experimental piety, and eloquence of language, we know not where to look for superior ones. The character of the man, the holy enthusiasm of his nature, his profound travail of soul with doubt and temptation and sorrow, his supreme devotion to his high calling, and his exquisite mental and moral organization, impart an indescribable charm and a rare power of impression to his sermons. We are not surprised that thoughtful minds find a fascination in them which they can not resist. We do not wonder that the living ministry of such a preacher, who, in appearance, was extremely striking, whose clear, powerful eyes flashed fire, and whose sonorous, ringing voice electrified his audience, was eminently successful; that his chapel at Brighton "became crowded.

Sittings were scarcely ever to be had. For six years the enthusiasm never slackened; it grew and spread silently, and when he died broke out in a burst of universal sorrow."

Evening by Evening; or Readings at Eventide, for the Family or the Closet. By C. H. SPURGEON. Sheldon & Co. 12mo. pp. 400. Those who possess the author's "Morning by Morning" will not be willing to do without this companion volume. It is characterized by the same tenderness and sweetness of thought, quiet communings with the heart, and devout evangelical spirit. Much of it is experimental—drawn from the author's own great and profound experience. These meditations are less elaborate and methodical in arrangement than Jay's "Morning and Evening Exercises," which were so extensively used a few years since, but they are lively and pertinent, suggestive and eminently spiritual. There is no substitute for God's own Word, either in the family or the closet, but, in addition to that, such works as this may be made of great use.

Sacraments of the Church. By REV. SAMUEL W. CRITTENDEN. Presbyterian Publication Committee. 16mo, pp. 174. Originally preached as Sermons, and requested for publication by those who heard them, they form an excellent manual for the church on the subject of the Sacraments. The Scriptural argument in favor of the Lord's Supper, and for Baptism as held by the Presbyterian and other branches of the Christian church, is clearly, cogently, and satisfactorily given. The style is popular, and the spirit of the discussion kind and liberal, as it should be.

The same publishers have just issued *The New York Bible Woman*, by MRS. J. McNAIR; a companion volume to "The Shoe-Binders of New York," and the "New York Needle-Woman, by the same author. Like them, it takes us to the homes of the poor and degraded in this great and wicked city, and, while painting their sins and woes, suggests what may be done to reform them socially and spiritually, and improve their condition. They are books that can not fail to do good.

John Carey; or, What is a Christian? By A. L. O. E. Carter & Brothers. 16mo, pp. 350. The design of these simple tales is to show the high standard of Christian duty which the Bible holds forth to the disciples of Jesus, and that, in the light of Scripture, profession and practice are always to go together.

Aspects of Humanity Brokenly Mirrored in the Ever-swelling Current of Human Speech. J. B. Lippincott. This is metaphysics run to wretched poetry. We can scarcely see the drift of the author's thoughts. His philosophy—for he doubtless has one—is far too occult for us to discover. This book has evidently been written to amuse the author.

Hurd & Houghton have published Part XVIII–XX of Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by Dr. Hackett and Ezra Abbott. They embrace the two important items, Messiah and Miracles, both of which topics are fully and satisfactorily treated, and much other valuable matter.

Before the Throne; or, Daily Devotions for a Child. M. W. Dodd. This little book, gotten up in a very neat and pretty way, embodies a happy and important idea. It contains appropriate texts of Scripture, a brief hymn, and a short prayer for each day of the week for a month. A little more simplicity, and the child-form of expression in the prayers, would have enhanced the value of it.

Mr. Dodd has also brought out a new edition (the 36th) of *Simmons's Scripture Manual*, 12mo. pp. 750. This is the completest and most reliable work of the kind in use, and is indispensable to the Bible student.

Bible Wonders. By Rev. RICHARD NEWTON. 16mo. pp. 320. *Little Effie's Home*. By the Author of "Donald Fraser," etc. 16mo. pp. 266. Both from the press of the Carters. The former speaks of some of the wonderful things in the Bible in a familiar way, and with apt illustrations; while the latter gives some graphic and highly interesting glimpses of Missionary work on our Western frontier. Both volumes are by authors who know how to use the pen so as to edify while they interest the youthful minds. Add both volumes to your Sunday-school library.

Tales from Alsace; or, Scenes and Portraits from Life in the Days of the Reformation, as drawn from the old Chronicles. Translated from the German, with an Introduction appended to the French edition by the French Translator, E. ROSSEAU SAINT-HILAIRE. 16mo, pp. 474. Carter & Brothers. These tales are spirited and fascinating, illustrating the days of the Reformation, and adding to its history a hitherto unedited page. The scene is laid in one of the fine old towns of Alsace, and the pictures drawn seem as fresh and as "medieval as if but just exhumed, and as yet untouched by the monotonous hand of our civilization."

Light and Truth; or, *Bible Thoughts and Themes*. By HORATIUS BONAR, D. D. 16mo. pp. 432. *Noontide at Sychar*; or, the Story of Jacob's Well. J. R. MACDUFF, D. D. Carter & Brothers. 16mo, pp. 268. No praise of ours can enhance the charms of Dr. Macduff's or Dr. Bonar's writings. Unlike, and yet similar—combining rare literary finish and poetic beauty with spiritual fervor and sound biblical instruction, they both charm and edify the Christian reader. "Jacob's Well," is made the text of delightful discourse on topics connected with that consecrated fountain, with its living water and ever hallowed memories. Dr. Bonar gives us brief and choice thoughts, methodically arranged, and often strikingly expressed, on no less than 86 topics or Scripture themes. The style is familiar and the whole execution admirable. The same house publish *Grandfather's Nell*, by the author of "Louise Downing's Hens." *Hebrew Worthies*, and *The Golden Fleece*, by A. L. O. E. *Little Lark's Four Lessons*, by the Author of "Sunday all the Week." *Teddy's Dream*, or *A Little Sweep's Mission*, *The Little Peat Cutters*, or *The Song of Love*, by EMMA LESLIE. *Nellie's Mission*. *Shining Light*, by the author of "Memorials of Captain Vicars." All of these books are good. Indeed Carter & Brothers publish no evil or doubtful books. They evince rare judgment in the choice of works, and excellent taste in getting them up. "Hebrew Worthies" is particularly worthy of mention.

FICTION.

The activity noticed in our last issue in the department of Fiction, and the rivalry among our publishers in producing new editions of the complete works of the great English novelists, as well as original stories, English, Continental and American, still continues. Having striven to outdo each other in their rival editions of THACKERAY and READE, the two great houses of Messrs. Fields, Osgood & Co. and Messrs. Harper & Bros. are renewing the contest with the works of GEORGE ELIOT, undoubtedly the ablest and most popular living female novelist. Her works, especially

Adam Bede, *The Mill on the Floss*, *Romola*, and *Felix Holt*, have already had an extensive circulation among us. But, "in compliance with a widespread demand, and with the approval of the author," a fac-simile of whose letter to these publishers is given in each book, the Boston house has issued a *HOUSEHOLD EDITION* of all her novels, uniform with the editions of Thackeray and Reade, which have met with so general acceptance. The first three volumes named above have already been published. They are exceeding neat and compact, bound in green morocco cloth with gilt back; and sold for the very low price of \$1 per vol.

The HARPER edition is a trifle larger in size, but similar in style and appearance, and is sold for one-fourth less. Think of it! ADAM BEDE, in good type, on fair paper, well bound in green cloth with gilt back—a volume of 452 pp. 12mo., for 75 cents! So much for brisk competition. Our readers will wish such a competition would arise in those standard and costly works which are so needful to them in the promotion of their serious work.

In addition to several works pertaining to the Reade and Thackeray series, published since our last issue, the latter house has issued quite a number of single novels, among which we note (as possessing considerable merit) *Meta's Faith*, by the author of "St. Olaves;" *False Colors*, by Annie Thomas; *Found Dead*, by the author of "One of the Family;" *Hetty*, by Henry Kingsley. In *Silk Attire*, by William Black, (a fresh and thoughtful writer, but objectionable on moral grounds); and *Countess Gisela*, from the German of E. Marlitt.

The presses of other houses have not been idle. Sheldon & Co. have published Miss Austin's *Cipher* (a fair story, but without much character); Appleton & Co., Victor Hugo's last work, *The Man who Laughs* (a stupendous failure, extravagant, indecent, and a tissue of error and absurdity, with nothing but the name of the author to commend it). Leypoldt & Holt, *The Habermmeister*, from the German of Schmid (an interesting tale of the Bavarian mountains); Peterson, whose drag-net brings in all sorts of fishes, another volume by Trollope, and other stories "too numerous to mention;" while lesser houses, and publishers who have not before gone into this line of literature, have added their quota to the ceaseless and swelling tide of popular fiction, the bearing of much of which on the social life of the day it is not difficult to mark, and the prolific and vile fruit of which already appears in frightful abundance and of luxurious growth.

ART. XI.—THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Assyrian Canon. Few subjects have of late years created greater interest than the various inscriptions found in Egypt and Assyria. From the year 1851, an animated discussion has been carried on in the pages of the *Athenæum* respecting the Assyrian tablets, to which Sir H. Rawlinson gave the name of the "Assyrian Canon." The number of annual officers, known as Eponymes, named in these tablets, appeared to show that there was either a deficiency of about forty years in the tablets or an excess of equal amount in Biblical history. Sir H. Rawlinson contended that "the numbers in the Hebrew text would have to be altered so as to curtail the interval between Hezekiah and Ahab" by this number of years. Against such a conclusion the late Dr. Hincks strenuously contended, maintaining that the tablets bore no higher

authority than the ordinary manuals or records known as Fasti; and that some hiatus must have occurred in them before the reign of Tiglath Pileser II. This view was supported by M. Oppert, who subsequently considered that the hiatus was referable to the reign of Sennacherib.

The discussion was apparently dying away when, in May 1857, it was renewed by Sir H. Rawlinson, owing to his attention having been called by Mr. G. Smith to a solar eclipse noticed in the middle of the tablets, where a line was drawn across them. The object of this line was, as Sir Henry thought, "to mark this eclipse more prominently." It occurred, according to the tablets, in the month *Sivan* or June; and Sir Henry considered that it could be no other than the eclipse of the 15th of June, B. C. 763. This discovery, he added, had "put an end to all controversy," as he thought that "astronomers would entertain no doubt whatever of the identity of this eclipse of June, 763, with that recorded on the cuneiform tablet."

In the course of investigations however, extending over the chronologies of all ancient nations, the writer some time since met with another eclipse which might equally have been that referred to in the Assyrian tablets. This is the eclipse of the 13th of June, B. C. 809. Between the eclipse of B. C. 809 and that of B. C. 763, there was an interval of forty-six years, which is the identical number of years really wanting in the tablets, but to be found in the Bible. Instead therefore of the biblical numbers having to be curtailed by about forty years, forty-six years have to be added to the Assyrian inscriptions.

Hence it appears that the line drawn across the tablets was not intended to give prominence to the eclipse, but to mark a break in the chronological sequence of the tablets themselves. There may have been a change in the principle administration of Nineveh, no Eponymes having been appointed during these forty-six years, or their names may have been unknown to the inscriber. It is possible, however, that he may have fallen into an error from having confounded two Eponymes both bearing the same name, or else have mistaken one eclipse for another. The subject has been fully discussed by the writer in a pamphlet entitled "The Tribute of Assyria." The important conclusion is, that if there be any chronological error it is not in the Bible, but in the Canon, to which so much importance has been attached.—*Athenæum*.

The Persian and Arabic MSS. collected by the late Colonel G. W. Hamilton, have been secured by purchase for the British Museum. There are 352 MSS. relating chiefly to Eastern and especially to Indian history, and to Arab and Persian literature. The government presented to the Museum the 339 volumes (which embrace the whole range of Ethiopic literature) captured at Magdala. They are handsomely written on vellum. King Theodore had collected them with a view to endow a church he contemplated building. The Museum was further enriched during the year by some 7,000 or 8,000 satirical prints and caricatures from the earlier years of James I's reign down to the present time (this is known as Hawkins' Collection), and by 71 volumes collected by the late Francis Place, of Westminster, relating to political and trades' unions, mechanics' institutes, Westminster elections, and the general social condition of England; 35,552 additions were made to the natural history departments, 1,247 to the department of coins and medals, and large numbers of additions were made to the other departments.

A translation, by the Rev. Mr. Beal, of the *Travels of two Buddhist Pilgrims*, in the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ, is a very interesting and important contribution to our knowledge of Buddhism. Hindostan was then the source and stronghold of the religion (from whence it has entirely disappeared), and China, a lately converted province, where the faith was struggling, and corrupted by various unauthorized additions. It was to obtain a knowledge of the doctrine from its purest source, that their pilgrimages were undertaken, and they form the chief authority for the existence of an historical period in India that was almost left without a record. The Introduction of the editor is full of information, and explains how Buddhism in China succeeded, as a protest against, and supplement to, the system of Confucius, whose precepts can not be called religion, and acknowledge no argument drawn from a future life. nor

profess the least knowledge of man's destiny after death. The natural want of the mind—communion with the unseen world—was supplied by Buddhism, and the testimony of the editor shows that though subsequently largely overlaid with superstition, "it has retained something of its natural vigor, and is still, however imperfectly so, a living witness in favor of virtue and purity of life."

Royal Asiatic Society.—The forty-sixth anniversary was held on May 31st. Sir Edward Colebrooke, Bart., M. P., in the chair. Prince Hassan, son of the Viceroy of Egypt, was elected a resident member. The report of the Council, including a memoir of their late President, Viscount Strangford, having been read, it was moved that Sir Henry Rawlinson be requested to combine with his office of Director that of President of the Society. Sir Henry Rawlinson, in accepting the honor conferred upon him, said that he was nothing more than an amateur, whose oriental knowledge had been obtained in a desultory manner in intervals of leisure stolen from other occupations; but whatever ability or knowledge he might possess, he willingly placed at the disposal of the Society, with the determination to do what he could to promote its objects. Sir Henry then proceeded to give a sketch of the progress which was being made in oriental studies, referring particularly to the labors of Mr. George Smith, in collecting and arranging the fragments of the Ninevah library, and expressing his conviction of the connection subsisting between the Babylonian documents in our possession and the earliest biblical notices. He has no doubt that they would be able to derive the whole of the history given in the book of Genesis down to the time of Abraham from the original documents, and it was not too much to expect that almost the same facts and the same descriptions would be found in the Babylonian documents as in the Bible. He hoped very shortly to have ready a paper on the Garden of Eden, in which he should show that that was the natural name of Babylon. The rivers bore the very same names, and it would be seen that the Babylonian documents gave an exact geographical account of the Garden of Eden. He was, of course, speaking merely of the geography, and not of the facts connected with it. The same remarks would apply to the accounts of the Flood, and of the building of the Tower of Babel, which it would be found were most amply illustrated in the Babylonian documents.

GERMANY.

The following list of Professors and Teachers of Theology in the German Universities is furnished by an American student now studying in Berlin:

PROTESTANT.

Country.	University.	Professors and Teachers.
Prussia,	Berlin,	Professors Dörner, Hengstenberg,* Twisten, Semische and Steinmeyer. Extraordinary Profs.—Piper, Messner, Weingarten, Kleinert, Benary, Strauss and Ratise. Licentiate, —Schmidt. Total, 13.
	Halle,	Profs. Moluch, J. Müller, Jacobi, Schlottmann, Beyschlag, Wuttke and Riehm. E. P. Guericke, Dahne, Franke, Kramer and Kahler. L.—Bohmer—13.
	Göttingen,	Profs. Ehrenfeuchter, Duncker, Schoeberlein, Wiesinger, Gess, Wagemann and Ritschl. E. P.—Mallhär and Lüne-mann. L.—Zahn and Schmidt. Repetent, Weihausen and Besser—13.
	Bonn,	Profs. Lange, Hundeshagan, Krafft, Held, Kamphausen, Christlieb. L.—Baxmann—7.
	Breslau,	Profs. Hahn, Köstlin, Reuss, Rübiger, Reuter, and Schultz. L.—Rohde—7.
	Königsberg,	Profs. Sommer, Sieffert, Erbkam, Voigt, Grau, and Jacoby. L.—Sieffert—7.
	Marburg,	Profs. Henke, Scheffer, Ranke, Dietrich, Mangold, and Heppe. L.—Gross—7.

* Deceased.

- Prus. Kiel, Profs. Weiss, Lipsius, Klostermann, Ludemann, and Thom-
sen—5.
Greifswald, Profs. Zöckler, Wieseler, Hanne, Velmar—4.
N. G. Bund, Leipsic, Profs. Kahnis, Brückner, Luthardt, Lechler, Delltze,
Fricke, and Tischendorf. Honorary Profs.—Hölemann
and Hofmann. E. P.—Schmidt. L.—Brockhaus, Mühlau,
and Kautzch—13.
Jena, Profs. Hase, Schwartz, Rückert, and Diestel. H. P.—Grimm.
E. P.—Hilgenfeld, L.—Overbeck and Merx—8.
Giessen, Prof. Dillmann, Heise, Köllner, and Nitzsch. L.—Weif-
fenbach—5.
Rostock, Profs. Krabbe, Philipp, Bachmann, and Dieckhoff—4.
S. Germany, Heidelberg, Profs. Hitzig, Schenkel, Gass, Holtzmann. E. P.
—Hausrath, Nippold, Steiner. L.—Schellenberg—8.
Tübingen, Profs. Von Beck, Landerer, Oehler, Von Palmer, Von
Weizsäcker. R.—Grill, Pfeiderer, and Kobbach—8.
Erlangen, Profs. Thomasius, Von Hofmann, Schmid, Frank, Köh-
ler, Von Zeszschwitz, and Herzog. E. P.—Plitt. L.—Her-
zog and Ebrard—10.
Switzerland, Basel, Profs. Hagenbach, Stähelin, Müller, Riggenbach. E. P.
—Schildt and Von der Goltz. L.—Preiswerk and Stock-
meyer—8.
Bern, Profs. Gelpke, Immer, Müller, and Studer. E. P.—Mendel,
Mural, and Zyro—7.
Zürich, Profs. Biedermann, Schweizer, Fritzsche, Kelm, Schrader,
and Volelmar. L.—Kesselring, Egli, Heidenheim,
and Wörner—10.
Austria, Vienna, Profs. Roskoff, Otto, Vogel, Szeberinzi, Böhl, and Frank—6
Russia, Dorpat, Profs. Kurtz, Keil, etc.

ROMAN CATHOLIC.

- Prussia, Bonn, Profs. Achlerfeldt, Dieringer, Hilgers, Floss, Reusch, and
Langen. E. P.—Roth and Simar. L. Kaulen—9.
Breslau, Profs. Baltzer, Bittne, Friedlieb, Lämmer, Probst, Schollz
and Reinkens. L.—Tinella and Krawutzky—9.
Münster, Profs. Berlage, Bisping, Kappenberg, Friedhoff, Püngel,
Reinke, Schlüter, Schwane, Stöckl. L.—Hagenmann and
Rohling—11.
S. Germany, Freiberg, Profs. Maier, Stollz, Alzog, König, Wörler, and Rös-
sing. E. P.—Sentes. L.—Von Schätzler—8.
Tübingen, Profs. Von Kuhn, Von Hefele, Zukrigl, Von Aberle, Hein-
zel, Von Kober. E. P.—Sinsennann. R.—Schauz and
Zeller—9.
Württemberg, Profs. Reissmann, Denzinger, Hergenrother, Hettlinger,
and Schegg. E. P.—Stein and Worthmüller. L.—Hergen-
söther—8.
Münich, Profs. Von Döllinger, Reithmayr, Von Haneburg, Thalhofer,
Reischl, and Schmid. E. P.—Silbernagel, Friedrich, Bach.
L.—Pichler—10.
Austria, Vienna, Profs. Grascha, Kozelka, Laurin, Seback, Tosi, Vitvar,
and Wappler. E. P.—Zschokke and Krückl. L.—Bauer
—10.
Prague, Profs. Petr, Ráhlowsky, Mayer, Reinwarth. E. P.—Borovy.
L.—Schindler, Kradek, and Welhartichy—8.
Innsbruck, Profs. Hurter, Jung, Jungmann, Kobler, Nilles, Tuzer,
Stentrup, and Wenig. E. P.—Friedrich—9.
Graz, Profs. Fruhmann, Wagl, Robitsch, Schlager, and Klinger.
L.—Kahn and Worm—7.

There is some difference in the number of Professors reported in our April

number and in the present; but this is owing to the fact that numerous changes have been made within the past year. Berlin is rather shorthanded at present, caused by a change of several extraordinary professors and licentiates. The sum total will be about the same.

There are other theological institutions besides these given in this list. The Roman Catholics have them in several monasteries. Austria has other universities, which are not mentioned here, because the list includes only German universities, where the German language is used. There are several theological seminaries in Prussia, whose purpose is to train young men to be teachers of theology and preachers of the Word. One of these is at Wittenberg, one at Herborn, one also in Berlin.

In the universities there are, besides the professors and teachers of theology, professors and teachers in the philosophical faculty, especially of those who teach Oriental languages, who also give lectures to theological students on various parts of the Old Testament. So Professor Roediger in Berlin, Professor Ewald in Göttingen, Fürst in Leipzig, and many others.

"*Die Theologie des Neuen Testament.*" Von F. F. Van Oösterzee. Bremen, 1869. pp. 268. The author has made a manual for academic lectures and for private study. This book differs from a great many others of the same kind, by giving at the end of each section, discussions of special points. Thus we find at the end of the first section, an essay on "the character and the psychological basis of the theological sciences in general." The whole is divided into four main parts, each division again subdivided into different sections. The first great division is on the "Old Testament basis;" the second on the "Theology of Jesus Christ;" the third on the "Theology of the Apostles;" and the fourth on the "Higher Unity." The book is written with force and spirit, and is a valuable compend for theological students.

No VII. of the "*Bibel-Lexikon*," edited by Schenkel, has been published. The contributors to this work are men like Dillmann, Fitzrohl, Hitzig, Holymann, Keim, Merx, Reuss, etc.

"*Buxtorfi Lexicon, Chald. Talmud et Rabbinarum.*" Ed. Fischer. Leipzig. 1867. Fasc. IX. & X. We are glad to see this new edition of Buxtorf advancing. The whole will embrace 25 numbers, and will be more convenient than the old edition, as the size is not so unwieldy.

"*Handconcordanz zum Griechischen Neuen Testament,*" von O. Schmoller. Stuttgart. J. G. Liesching. 1868. I. Stalfe. This is a condensed Greek Concordance of the New Testament, based on Bruder's large work. The type is clear and the price moderate.

"*Zeitschrift f. exacte Philosophie.* Edited by Allihn & Zeller. Vol. VIII., 1868. The organ of the anti-idealistic school of Herbart. C. A. Thilo, on Schopenhauer's "Ethical Atheism;" O. Flügel, Remarks on Lotze's View of the Connection of Things; Dr. Kern, The School as an Educating Agency; Thilo, on Lederholm's Philosophy of Religion; Ignaz Pokorny, the Main Points in Herbart's Theory of the Feelings; also, reviews of recent philosophical works.

Philosophische Monatshefte herausgegeben, von J. Bergmann. I. Band. Sommersemester, 1868. Berlin. Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung. This is a new philosophical periodical, on the Hegelian platform, in a conservative sense, established by Herr Bergmann, in rivalry to, or on the ruins of, Herr Prof. Michelet's "*Der Gedanke*." We say on "the ruins of,"—for of Prof. Michelet's Journal, we have received only one querulous number for 1868. He and Herr Bergman edited "*Der Gedanke*" (i. e. *THE THOUGHT*) together in 1867; in 1868 they parted company. And, while Herr Bergmann, in 1868, has published six *hefts* of his journal, Prof. Michelet has published (so far as we know) only one;—which seems to indicate that conservative Hegelianism still has, in Germany, more productive and remunerative capacity than the destructive, godless, and vituperative tendency represented by Prof. Michelet. The personal conflict between the two is, to say the least, entertaining to outsiders. It fulfils Hegel's prophecy,—that as soon as a school is formed it begins to divide.

Apart from these personal matters, Bergmann's periodical contains several interesting philosophical articles; e. g., Bergmann on the Philosophical Basis of Ethics; Schellwein on Freedom or Communism, four articles; Rosenkranz on Diderot; Frauenstädt on Immortality; E. Mätzner on Speculative Philosophy in the United States—simply an account of the St. Louis "Journal of Speculative Philosophy"; Langenbeck on the Spiritual and Physical; etc., with notices of new works and philosophical chit-chat.

ENGLAND.

A new edition of the venerable Bede's *Hist. Eccles. Gentis Anglorum* has been published at Oxford, edited by G. H. Moberly; but it can hardly claim to supersede Prof. Hussey's work—though it corrects one or two errors of the latter (e. g. giving the correct date, A. D. 705 to Book V, c. 3). Mr. Moberly seems to believe that there was a Saxon missionary, Offo, in South-west Germany A. D. 603; but the evidence is suspicious.

The Le Bas prize, Cambridge, has been taken by Rev. C. W. Stubbs, for an essay on the *Origin and Growth of Sentiments of International Morality* (Macmillan), which is well spoken of.

Trübner of London and Viewig of Paris announce a new periodical, *La Revue Celtique*, to be edited by M. H. Gaidoz; with contributions by Max Müller, M. de Barthélemy, E. Renan, Whitley Stokes, etc. Its articles will be written in English, French, German or Latin.

Macmillan has also published a logical essay, of some eighty pages, by Prof. W. Stanley Jerons, of Owen's College, Manchester, the author of a work called *Pure Logic*. The present essay is on a single point, the Aristotelian *dictum de omni*, etc., and it is intended to banish this dictum altogether, and to put in its place the doctrine (or phrase) of "the substitution of similars" as the only true principle of reasoning. Genus and Species, whole and parts, etc., go by the board. The author is a close follower of Mill's general theory of reasoning (as essentially inductive); but he wants Mr. Mill himself to be more consistent, and not to retain even the shreds of the old theory.

The Bengal government has made a grant of \$500 towards defraying the expense of the critical catalogue of the Arabic and Persian MSS. which Major Nassau Lees bought at Delhi, for the Calcutta Madressa.

The admirers of Dr. Wilson, the great missionary and Orientalist, have made him the tenant for life of a fund whose fee is to be used at his death to establish a University Chair of Comparative Philology in Bombay.

The profits of Queen Victoria's "Early Years of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort," amounting to \$12,500, have been applied to the establishment of school and college bursaries for the benefit of well-deserving scholars, in the district around Balmoral, her Scottish residence.

A Hebrew Bible, dated 1491, or 1492, printed upon parchment, was lately sold in London for \$800.

The *Illustrated Edition of Thackeray's Works*, published by Smith, Elder & Co., London, is now completed in twenty-two volumes, large crown 8vo.

Mr. Froude has written the eleventh and twelfth volumes of his "History of England, from the Fall of Cardinal Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth." They will be published very soon, and it is expected that they will complete the work. The tenth volume brings the narrative down to the end of 1573 after which time there occurred Leicester's expedition to the Netherlands, Drake's naval successes, Babington's conspiracy, trial and execution of Mary Stuart, the dispersion of the Spanish Armada, campaign of Essex in Ireland, disgrace and execution of Essex, and the death of Elizabeth. Altogether, from 1573 to 1603, a period of nearly 30 years.

The readers of Dr. Thomas Fuller will be pleased to see a reprint of one of his scarcest and most curious books, hitherto accessible only in its original folio

shape: *A Pisgah Sight of Palestine and the Confines thereof, with the History of the Old and New Testament acted thereon*. This is well called by a competent authority (Mr. Orme, author of the *Bibliotheca Biblica*), "one of the most curious books ever written on the Scriptures." The author was distinguished for his learning, and not more remarkable for wit and quaintness than for the felicity with which he clothed fine thoughts in beautiful language. Not the least remarkable portion of the book are the maps, evidently designed by the author; they contain a sort of abridged pictorial representation of every incident of Sacred History at the place where it occurred. By some modern scientific process they are all beautifully reproduced in perfect identity with the folio originals, to the number of thirty or forty in the present volume.

After being for some time out of print, a new edition of Mr. Darwin's book on *The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection* has recently appeared. The author mentions that it forms the fifth impression and tenth thousand of his work, independent of foreign translations and American reprints, in less than ten years from its first publication in November, 1859. There are various important editions to the present impression, making its possession essential to all who would keep up with the most matured views of the author.

UNITED STATES.

Mrs. Stowe has produced a great sensation in the literary world by her magazine article on Byron. It seems not a little surprising that a paper possessing no literary merit whatever, and no interest of any kind except to the lovers of scandal, should have so stirred literary critics on both sides the ocean. Byron's name is still a power, though seemingly defunct, or this could not have been. Its publication, under the circumstances, whether the "secret" be truth or fiction we regard as a very grave literary and moral blunder. It will prove highly damaging to Mrs. Stowe's own literary reputation. And it is sure to have the effect—as any student of human nature must have known it would have—to bring Byron and his poetry again into favor. Everywhere inquiry for his works are eagerly made, and new editions of them will speedily appear, and a resurrected power will be given them to poison and defile, and all through the solitary, misguided act of a Christian woman.

CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co. have in press, in two crown 8vo. vols., a *Life of Dr. J. Addison Alexander*, by his son, the Rev. H. C. Alexander, which can not fail to possess more than usual interest, not only to his numerous friends, and to the Christian ministry, of which he was so distinguished an ornament, but also the students of Christian learning, to which his life was devoted, and to which he also rendered eminent service.

Bible Animals, which the same house has in press, will be found not only highly interesting and entertaining, by reason of its numerous and superior engravings, but also a very important contribution to the natural history of the Bible. Whoever has read "Homes without Hands," by the same author, will want to possess this volume, and he will find much in it illustrative of the Scriptures.

Dr. Hurst's busy pen is about to give to English readers, through the same press, another work of great value to the students of church history, viz., *Prof. Hagenbach's History of the Church in the 18th and 19th centuries*, from the last German edition, with additions, in two 8vo. vols. The great popularity of this author's histories, on account of their fidelity to truth, their fascinating style, and evangelical Catholic spirit, and the fact that it brings down the history of the church to a later date than any similar work, will secure for it, in this excellent translation, that attention which its merits deserve.

The same firm have in press a new work by Dr. John Lord, author of that brilliant work, "The Old Roman World," entitled *Ancient States and Empires*. Also another, the 9th vol. of *Lange*, on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Solomon's Song, the joint labors of those ripe scholars, Prest. Aiken and Prof. Tayler Lewis, of Union College, and Dr. Green, of Princeton.

INDEX TO VOL. I. NEW SERIES, 1869.

AUTHORS.

- Adams, F. A., Psychology and Ethics, 535.
 Aikman, Robert, The Relation of the Fourth Commandment to Christian Duty, 492.
 Alison, F., An "Old Side" Plea for Reunion, 375.
 Argyl's Primeval Man, 413.
 Baldwin's Pre-Historic Nations, 413.
 Barnes, Albert, Sin and Suffering in the Universe, 648.
 Bascom, John, Conscience: What is it? 478.
 Beecher, Willis J., The Interpretation of Bible-Word Pictures, 107.
 Bowen, Francis, Mr. Mill and his Critics, 351, 427.
 British and Foreign Evangelical Review; Assyria and her Monuments, 146.
 Briggs, C. A., Recent German Books, 401; Notes on German Universities, 419; New German Works on Theology, 674; The Professors in German Theological Schools, 800.
 Brown, J. A., Christian Anthropology, 129.
 Conant, J. T., Codex Vaticanus, 407, 784; Tischendorf's Appendix Novi Testamenti Vaticani, 408; Westcott's History of the English Bible, 605.
 Condit, J. B., Biblical Preaching, 265.
 Hamberger, Julius, The Theosophy of Franz Baader. Translated by G. S. Morris, 171.
 Hatfield, E. F., Dr. Baird's History of the New School 94; Ecclesiastical Record, 210.
 Hartley, Isaac S., Traces of an expected Redeemer in Profane Literature, 708.
 Hitchcock, R. D., Note on Lay Elder-ship, 186.
 Hunt, John, David Hume, 544.
 Jacobus, Melancthon W., The Union Question in Scotland, 58.
 Lewis, Tayler, Bible Words for Salvation, 619.
 Lord, Eleazar, Our Currency and Specie Payments, 122.
 Lord, A. D., Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, 701.
 March, Francis A., The Scholar of To-day, 76.
 Max Müller's Chips from a German Workshop, 415.
 Miller, Samuel, Life of, 609.
 Monfort, J. G., Progress of the Reunion Movement, 304.
 Morris, E. D., The Reformed or Calvinistic Sense, 241.
 Muzzy, C. F., The Jesuit Brahmins of Madura, 6:6.
 Palmer, Ray, The Want of Moral Force in Christendom, 459.
 Patterson, Robert, Recent Discoveries in Geology, 213.
 Shedd, W. G. T., The Canon Muratorianus, 100.
 Stearns, J. F., Historical Sketch of the Reunion, 569.
 Storrs, R. S., The Incarnation and the System which Stands upon It, 324.
 Tholuck, August, The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper in Recent Lutheran Theology, 744.
 Van Osterzee, the Temptation of Jesus in the Wilderness, 753.
 Withington, Leonard, Dr. Asa Burton's Theological System, 5.

SUBJECTS.

- Anthropology, Christian, 129.
 Assyria and her Monuments, 146.
 Baird's Dr., History of the New School, 94.
 Baader, Franz., The Theosophy of, 171.
 Bible Words for Salvation, 619.
 Burton's, Dr. Asa, Theological System, 5.
 Bible Word-Pictures, The Interpretation of, 107.
 Biblical Preaching, 265.
 Christian Anthropology, 129.
 Christendom, The Want of Moral Force in, 459.
 Codex Vaticanus, Roman ed., 407, 784.
 Consciousness, What is it? 478.
 Criticisms on Recent Books, 187-201; 407-419; 600-613; 780-798.
 Currency and Specie Payments, 122.
 Ethics and Psychology, 535.
 Ecclesiastical Record, 210.
 Fourth Commandment, The Relation of to Christian Duty, 492.
 France, Intelligence, 207, 422.
 Gillett, E. H., The True Character of the Adopting Act, 29; Prest. Wheelock and his Contemporaries, 281; Prest. Wheelock and the Great Revival, 20; Convention Sermons on the Great Revival, 734.
 Germany, Intelligence, 201, 419, 800; Recent Book Notices, 201; Books on Theology, 401, Students in Universities, 419; Theological Professors, 800.
 Gates Ajar, The, 611.
 Geology, Recent Discoveries in, 215.
 Granite, the Aqueous Formation of, 215.
 Great Britain, Intelligence, 209, 423, 615, 803.
 Hebrew Grammar, Leathe's, 188.
 Holland, Intelligence, 205.
 Hume, David, 544.
 History of European Morals, 600.
 Incarnation, The, and the System which Stands upon it, 324.
 Intelligence, Theological and Literary, 204-209; 419-324; 614-616; 798-804.
 Italy, Intelligence, 614.
 Jesus, The Temptation of, in the Wilderness, 753.
 Lay Eldership, 186.
 Lord's Supper, The Doctrine of the, in Recent Lutheran Theology, 744.
 Lutheran Theology, Recent, The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper in, 744.
 Madura, The Jesuit Brahmins of, 676.
 Mill, John Stuart, and his Critics, 351, 427.
 New School, Baird's History of, 94.
 Picture of the Illuminated Holy Church of the Armenians, 187.
 Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, 701.
 Psychology and Ethics, 535.
 Reunion Movement, Progress of 304.
 Reunion, Historical Sketch of, 569.
 Reunion, An "Old Side" Plea for, 375.
 Russia, Intelligence, 424.
 Salvation, Bible Words for, 619.
 Sin and Suffering in the Universe, 648.
 Socrates and the Socratic Schools, 191.
 Spain, Intelligence, 208.
 Switzerland, Intelligence, 205.
 The Adopting Act, The True Character of, 29.
 The Canon Muratorianus, 100.
 The Jesuit Brahmins of Madura, 676.
 Tischendorf's Appendix, Novi Testamenti Vaticani, 408.
 Traces of an Expected Redeemer in Profane Literature, 7-8.
 The Reformed or Calvinistic Sense, 241.
 The Scholar of To-day, 76.
 The Theosophy of Franz Baader, 171.
 Theology, New German Works on, 774.
 Theology, The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, in Recent Lutheran, 744.
 Temptation of Jesus, The, in the Wilderness, 753.
 Union Question, The, in Scotland, 58.
 Westcott's History of the English Bible, 605.
 Wheelock, Prest., and His Contemporaries, 281.
 Wheelock, Prest., and the Great Revival, 520.
 Wilderness, The Temptation of Jesus in, 753.



HOURS AT HOME;

A POPULAR MONTHLY OF INSTRUCTION AND RECREATION.

With the October number "HOURS AT HOME" closes its Ninth Volume. Its purpose has now become so generally understood, and its distinguishing characteristics so clearly defined, that to indicate what it shall be in the future it is unnecessary to do more than to refer to what it has been during the four years and a half that it has now been published. While not a Religious Magazine, "HOURS AT HOME" always has been and shall continue to be the exponent and advocate of the principles of Evangelical Christianity. Rigidly excluding from its pages everything sensational, frivolous, or in the slightest degree exceptionable, it shall aim to combine entertainment with instruction so effectively as to make itself not only a welcome, but eagerly looked-for visitor in every family.

In the volume which begins with the November number, the charming story, "Compton Friars," by the author "Mary Powell," will be concluded, and will be followed by a serial by a distinguished author whose name will be hereafter announced. Short Stories, Sketches of Travel, Papers upon Natural History, Essays on Social Topics, Announcements, and Poems, will be furnished by the following among other writers:

PROF. NOAH PORTER.
R. H. STODDARD.
LUCIA GILBERT CALHOUN.
MARY CLEMMER AMES.
Dr. H. BUSHNELL.
MARIA MITCHELL.
ADELINE D. T. WHITNEY.
Dr. E. H. GILLETTE.

C. M. YONGE, author of "The Heir of Redclyffe."
J. AUG. JOHNSON.
MARY E. DODGE.
Dr. S. B. HUNT.
JANE G. AUSTIN.
Dr. T. EDWARDS CLARK.
ALICE CARY.

F. C. STEDMAN.
JULIA WARD HOWE.
J. T. HEADLEY.
GEORGE M. TOWLE.
Dr. G. M. BEARD.
CARL SPENCER.
ALFRED B. STREET.
"H. H."

The Conductors of "HOURS AT HOME" will also use every exertion to enlist in the service of the Magazine new talent; to ensure the discussion of topics of current interest by the writers best qualified to treat of them, and to make their periodical in every respect still more worthy of the favor which has thus far been so generously extended to it.

The special attention of the friends of "HOURS AT HOME" is invited to the following generous inducements renewed effort to increase its circulation.

TERMS OF CLUBBING WITH THE RELIGIOUS WEEKLIES.

N.B.—Those taking advantage of these reduced rates must be in all cases NEW Subscribers, both to "HOURS AT HOME" and also to the Paper they may wish to secure with it.

Yearly Rate for New Subscribers to HOURS AT HOME and the

OBSERVER, New York.....	\$4 50	PROTESTANT CHURCHMAN, New York.....	\$4 00
METHODIST, New York.....	3 50	WATCHMAN AND REFLECTOR, Boston....	4 00
EVANGELIST, New York.....	4 00	PRESBYTERIAN, Philadelphia.....	4 00
*INDEPENDENT, New York.....	4 00	CONGREGATIONALIST, Boston.....	
EXAMINER AND CHRONICLE, New York..	3 50	YOUNG FOLKS' NEWS.....	3 00

* The publishers of the INDEPENDENT will send to each person clubbing with that paper and HOURS AT HOME under this offer (\$4.00), copies of Ritchie's splendid steel-engraved portraits of GRANT and COLFAX.

NOTE.—OLD Subscribers to HOURS AT HOME who do not take either of the papers specified above, may avail themselves of the rates offered by paying FIFTY CENTS in addition. The regular subscription rates for HOURS AT HOME and the above papers, if taken singly, would be at least fifty per cent. more than the prices named.

CLUBBING ARRANGEMENT WITH OTHER MAGAZINES.

For \$6.50, HOURS AT HOME, one year, and HARPER'S MONTHLY, or HARPER'S WEEKLY, or HARPER'S BAZAR, or HEARTH AND HOME—the full price of which is \$7. For \$6.50, HOURS AT HOME and the ECLECTIC MAGAZINE—full price, \$8. For \$9, HOURS AT HOME and LITTELL'S LIVING AGE—full price, \$11.

NOTE.—This last arrangement is open to all without distinction, whether old or new subscribers to HOURS AT HOME, or the papers named.

SPECIAL PREMIUMS.

WHEELER AND WILSON'S UNRIVALLED \$55 SEWING-MACHINE is still offered for TWENTY new subscribers (\$90); or for 15 new subscribers at \$3 each (\$45), and \$25 in money (\$75 in all), this SEWING-MACHINE, and the NEW BOUND VOLUMES OF HOURS AT HOME will be given. A higher-priced Machine may be secured by paying the difference, or by sending FIVE additional names (\$15) for a \$65, or TEN (with \$30), for a \$75 one. These machines can be selected by the parties ordering, if they prefer.

BOOK PREMIUMS.—The new volume of LANGE'S COMMENTARY (Romans), for 4 new subscribers (\$12), and an additional volume for each 4 new subscribers; or the eight volumes thus far published for thirty subscribers (\$90).

Two BOUND VOLUMES OF HOURS AT HOME for 4 new subscribers (\$12), or the NEW BOUND VOLUMES for 16 new subscribers (\$48).

CHROMOS.—"GOD'S ACRE," published by Gurney & Son, of this city, price, \$3.50, for TWO NEW SUBSCRIBERS with \$6, or for one renewal for three years with \$9. For three subscriptions with \$9, "AT MISCHIEF," exquisite piece, price \$5; or for six with \$18, that universal favorite, "LOVE'S MELANCHOLY," price \$10, or "MISCHIEVOUS PETS," price \$11, a large and very beautiful picture. These chromos are all published by Gurney & Son, in the highest style of the art, and will be sent free on receipt of the money.

* All the above Premiums sent FREE, except the Sewing-Machine. In all cases where Premiums are given, the full subscription price of HOURS AT HOME is required.

TERMS: \$3.00 a year, or two years for \$5.00 in advance. Single copies, 30 cents. To Clubs of five and over, \$1.50. If the Club reaches TEN, one copy free to the person who gets it up. To Clergymen, Teachers, and Theological students, \$2.50 in advance.

BOUND VOLUMES: This work, to the present time, is elegantly bound in nine volumes. Price, \$2.50 each, post-paid; or for \$17.00 the nine volumes will be sent, free of charge. For \$5.00 either volume and one year's subscription. There is more good reading, and a far greater variety, in these than can be bought for \$50.00 in ordinary book-form.

COVERS: Beautiful Cloth Covers in French Green or English Black, post-paid, each fifty cents. Or the numbers can be exchanged for Bound Volumes by paying 75 cents each for the binding.

* Subscriptions may begin with any number. Back numbers supplied from the beginning. Persons wishing to discontinue the Magazine will please give early notice. It will be sent as first ordered until directions are received for discontinuance or change of address. Send draft, check, or post-office order, or by express, and not risk bills in the mail.

Address, Box 2277 P. O.

CHARLES SCRIBNER & CO., 654 Broadway, N.Y.

· **Traphagan, Hunter & Co.,**
POPULAR CLOTHIERS,

398, 400, and 402 BOWERY,

Junction of 3d and 4th Aves. opp. 6th St.

Gentlemen's, Youth's, and Children's

CLOTHING

OF SUPERIOR STYLE AND QUALITY,

READY-MADE AND TO ORDER

READY-MADE DEPARTMENT

IS STOCKED WITH THE

Newest and most Fashionable Styles.

CUSTOM DEPARTMENT,

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE

Best and most Experienced Cutters.

687

Boys' and Children's Department,

Entirely separate from the Gent's, and comprises every style and quality of Garment, suitable for all ages from two years up.

Most liberal Discounts offered to the Trade
FOR CASH.

S,

G

ER

NT

les.

NT,

ent,

l-

rade